

BOOK PLATE OF WILLIAM AIKMAN'S
CIRCULATING LIBRARY IN ANNAPOLIS

From copy owned by the American Antiquarian Society

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. XXXIV.

JUNE, 1939.

No. 2.

BOOKSELLERS AND CIRCULATING LIBRARIES IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

By JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in the cultural history of colonial Maryland. This has been evidenced by the publication of several books and articles. The subject has been approached from three general points of view. The first, and perhaps the most obvious approach was to examine the literature produced by local writers to determine the origin of the literary forms used and the sources of the ideas found.¹ Another approach was that of recording the issues of the printing press and of investigating in so far as was possible the forces which led to the publication of each item.² The third method of studying the literary culture of the colony was that of examining the records of books in private libraries, parochial libraries, circulating libraries and bookstores, and discovering the reading interests of the people as shown in their correspondence and private journals.³ The purpose of this article is to present the early history of bookstores and circulating libraries in the colony and to show the part they played in stimulating an interest in reading among the colonists.

The earliest recorded Maryland bookseller is Evan Jones, whose name appeared on the title page of the Rev. Thomas Bray's *Necessity of an Early Religion*, printed by Thomas Reading at Annapolis in

¹ Bernard C. Steiner, *Early Maryland Poetry*, Baltimore, 1900. Lawrence C. Wroth, "James Sterling: Poet, Priest, and Prophet of Empire" in *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* ns. 41 (1931) 25-76. Carl L. Carlson, "Richard Lewis and the Reception of His Work in England" in *American Literature* 9 (1937) 301-316. Lawrence C. Wroth, "Maryland Muse by Ebenezer Cooke," in *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* ns. 44 (1934) 267-335.

² Lawrence C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776*. Baltimore, 1922. Joseph T. Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777-1790*. Baltimore, 1938.

³ Joseph T. Wheeler, "Literary Culture in Eighteenth Century Maryland, 1700-1776." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Brown University, 1938.

1700.⁴ No further references have been found mentioning him in this capacity and there is no record of the books he sold. He took an active part in colonial affairs from that date until his death in June, 1722. With his connections as a clerk of the two houses of legislature, vestryman of St. James's Parish, deputy collector of customs and editor of the Maryland laws of 1718 he doubtless would have found it profitable to operate a small bookstore.

Beginning with William Parks, the colonial printers published lists of the books, almanacs and pamphlets they had recently printed as well as those published in the neighboring colonies. There are virtually no advertisements of imported books for sale in the surviving numbers of the first *Maryland Gazette* (1728-1734) so it would appear that Parks did not operate a bookstore in connection with the newspaper. On one occasion he advertised that he had:

A Parcel of very curious Metzotinto Prints, to be Sold at Reasonable Rates. . . .⁵

He also frequently offered to bind books carefully and cheaply. After he established the *Virginia Gazette* in 1736, he opened a bookstore in Williamsburg.⁶

No record has been found of another bookseller at Annapolis until William Rind went into partnership with Jonas Green, the publisher of the second *Maryland Gazette*, in 1758.⁷ Rind had been apprenticed to Green several years before this and apparently realizing the need for a bookstore in Annapolis, he opened one in his home. From 1758 to 1762 he did not go in the bookselling business extensively, although he occasionally advertised importations. The fact that in 1760 Green and Rind published an advertisement of Samuel Evans, an itinerant bookseller and bookbinder, would probably indicate that Rind was not seriously interested in bookselling at that time.

Just Imported from London, And to be Sold by Samuel Evans, Book Binder, near Mr. Howard's in Annapolis, A Collection of Books, consisting of History, Law, and Physic; together with great Variety of School-Books and Stationary.

During his stay here, which will be about two months, he will Bind old or new Books in the neatest and most expeditious Manner.⁸

⁴ For the best account of Evan Jones, see L. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*. Baltimore, 1922, pp. 39-45.

⁵ *Maryland Gazette*, July 15, 1729, p. 4.

⁶ See L. C. Wroth, *William Parks*. Richmond, 1926, pp. 24-25.

⁷ L. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, p. 85, for best account of William Rind, Maryland and Virginia printer.

⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, May 15, 1760.

On August 26, 1762, Rind announced the arrival of a large shipment of books from London which were for sale "at the House where Mrs. M'Leod formerly kept Tavern." In the next number of the *Maryland Gazette*, he published his scheme for a circulating library for the whole colony. When it is recalled that the earliest New York circulating library was started by Garrat Noel in August, 1763, and the first recorded Boston circulating library began in 1765, the pioneer attempt of William Rind in 1762 takes on greater significance.

The list of books which constituted the earliest known colonial circulating library contained nearly one hundred and fifty titles, one-half of which were English literature, classics or language. Among the titles were Thomson's *Seasons*, Milton's *Paradise Lost and Regained*, Hanmer's *Shakespeare*, Pope's *Works*, Swift's *Works*, Johnson's *Rambler*, Young's *Night Thoughts*, Fénelon's *Telemachus*, Voltaire's *Letters on the English Nation*, Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Fielding's *Tom Jones*, *Amelia* and *Joseph Andrews*, Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Pamela* and many other contemporary titles.

Rind's address to the prospective subscribers is an important essay on the merits of circulating libraries and deserves particular attention as the first known attempt to interest colonists in the benefits of an institution which was rapidly gaining support in England.

TO THE PUBLIC

The great Utility of diffusing a Spirit of Science thro' the Country, is too obvious to need any Proof, and if the Author of the following Plan has been so fortunate as to adapt it to this important Object, he presumes to hope that his Endeavours will be well received and supported by the Public. Nature (it is generally acknowledged) has been sufficiently bountiful to the Natives of this Country, in bestowing upon them the happiest Talents; but as the richest Soil, without due Cultivation, runs into rank and unprofitable Weeds, so little Fruit can be expected from the best natural Endowments, where the Mind is not under the Direction of proper intellectual Aids. Among the many Obstacles to literary Acquirements, which the Youth of this Country are liable to, the Want of Books proper for their Instruction, is justly esteemed one of the greatest. The furnishing of a competent Library, for any tolerable Advancement in Letters, requires a Fortune which few People in this Part of the World are Masters of, whence it comes to pass, that many a fine Genius languishes and dies in Obscurity. The Purpose therefore of this Plan, which is to open and extend the Fountains of Knowledge, which are at present shut against all but Men of affluent Fortunes, it is hoped, will meet with the Countenance and Patronage of every Friend to his Country. If the Author of this Scheme finds sufficient Encouragement from this Essay, he proposes to enlarge

his Plan by the Addition of many more Books to his Catalogue, so that the Means of Knowledge will thereby become accessible to Men of middling Fortunes, and every Man will be furnished at a very easy Rate with Books which best suit his Taste, or correspond with the natural Propensity of his Genius. As a Scheme of this Nature is quite new in this Part of the World, the Author has not the Vanity to think, but that what he has proposed is capable of many Improvements, and therefore will be much obliged to any ingenious Gentlemen, who will point out it's Defects, and furnish him with any Amendments or Additions, which may more effectually conduce to the Perfection of his Plan.

WILLIAM RIND.⁹

The terms he proposed for membership were that each subscriber should pay twenty-seven shillings Maryland currency annually for the privilege of using two books at a time. Annapolis subscribers were allowed to borrow a folio for a month, a quarto for three weeks, and an octavo for one week. Subscribers living more than thirty miles from Annapolis could have the books for an additional two weeks. To prevent his subscribers from taking an unfair advantage of him, Rind stipulated that anyone found lending the books belonging to the library, even at the present day a bone of contention between librarian and reader, had to forfeit the full cost of the volume. A printed catalogue was to be provided at cost. He arranged with prominent men in nearly every county to take subscriptions.

In an effort to interest certain prospective subscribers who did not take the *Maryland Gazette*, he sent out a circular letter enclosing the list of books and the proposals. Henry Callister, the Eastern Shore tobacco factor, received the announcement and replied:

This day I received your letter 17th Current covering two of your gazettes, for which I thank you.

Your circulating library will be of great & eternal advantage to the opening & enlarging the minds of rude & uncultivated understandings in a Country where the want of such a convenience is greatly to be regretted, which is strongly set forth in the poem [sic] to your proposals. I know several Gentlemen to whom your scheme will be agreeable; & I shall recommend it all I can. The case with some of them may be as it is with me for this year: We import yearly, so that there is scarce any book in your present Catalogue that I have not either read or have now by me. But our method is very costly, & for the future I think we had best fall in with you, which I intend when I see your catalogue of a new importation.

About 7 or 8 years ago, having a tolerable stock of books, I proposed to join stocks with 3 or 4 others, for a circulating library. But my plan was conformable to what I had seen practiced by some Booksellers in Dublin; that the value of the books lent should be deposited, & the parusal [sic] to

⁹ *Maryland Gazette*, September 2, 1762.

be rated at so much pr week, what ever bulk they should be of. But I, & another of the parties seeing a prospect of removing our Quarters, there was nothing done. Your plan must be more extensive, & I hope you will not only sell the more books by it, but reap due emolument from the hire of the Books.¹⁰

In the next issue of the paper Rind asked those who intended subscribing to do so at their earliest convenience so that he could order the next consignment of books in time to be shipped with the return fleet.

For several months after making his announcements, Rind made no further comments in the *Gazette*. But on December 9, 1762, probably shortly after his second consignment of books had arrived, he began an unusual method of advertising certain recent European publications which he apparently had imported in quantity from London. On this date, quite in the modern manner, he reprinted a long extract from the *Critical Review* comparing Rousseau's *Modern Eloisa* with Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe*. After arousing the interest of his readers in these books, he announced that he had copies for sale in his bookstore. In the next issue he advertised a new twenty volume edition of *The World Displayed; or, a Curious Collection of Voyages and Travels*, printed in Elzevir type with colored maps and engraved prints.¹¹ His originality in making use of extracts from the *Critical Review* undoubtedly helped the sale of his books in Annapolis.

There were not enough subscribers to enable him to operate his circulating library on the large scale which his original proposals called for, so on January 13, 1763, he announced a modified plan to include only Annapolis and the district within thirty miles. He also decided to allow only one book to a subscriber and to permit folios to be borrowed for two months. These proposals were introduced by another essay on the library:

As the Scheme I some Time ago offered to the Public, for Circulating a Library through the Province, is not likely to meet with the Success I expected, I presume it must be owing to the too great Latitude of my Plan; the Communication between this and the other Parts of the Province, not being as yet upon so regular an Establishment, as to admit of it's being carried into Execution in so great an Extent, to the Satisfaction of all Parties. For this Reason, I am advised by my Friends to decline all Thoughts of pushing it any further for the present, as premature, and to contract it within such Limits, that every Subscriber may, with very little Trouble, have the full Benefit of it. I propose therefore to confine my Subscriptions to ANNAPOLIS,

¹⁰ Henry Callister letterbook, III, 579. HC to Wm. Rind, 20 Sept. 1762.

¹¹ *Maryland Gazette*, December 16, 1762. This was, of course, the English edition. An American edition in eight volumes was printed in Philadelphia in 1795-6.

and a Circle of Thirty Miles about it. I presume no one, who has the least Taste for BOOKS, or any Inclination to improve his Mind, can think much of the Expence of one Guinea a Year, for the Use of such a valuable Collection, so plentifully abounding with Matter both for his Use and Amusement; nor can I conceive how Gentlemen, who either cannot afford, or do not choose to lay out large Sums of Money in Books, can fall upon a better Expedient for attaining the Means of Knowledge, than by some such Scheme as I have proposed. If my present Plan is in any Respect exceptionable, and not well calculated to answer the Purpose intended, I must beg Leave to repeat the Request I made in my former Address to the Public, That any Person would be so good as to point out it's Defects, and to favour me with such Improvements, as may be put it upon the best Footing for all concerned.¹²

There were enough subscribers in Annapolis to justify opening the library that year. In February he announced that the catalogue of the collection was in press.¹³ A year later he asked all of his former subscribers to let him know at their earliest convenience whether they wished to continue so that he could make his plans. He wrote that:

. . . the Encouragement it has hitherto received, is too inconsiderable to enable me to carry it on without injuring my Circumstances, by Expence I must unavoidably be at in furnishing the Library with new Books . . .

Apparently too few subscriptions were renewed. He could not raise money with which to purchase the next installment of books from abroad, so he determined to auction off the entire library. He announced that beginning April 17, 1764, he would sell the books at his home. "The sale will begin at Five O'clock, and continue every Evening until they are disposed of."¹⁴

Book auctions were a familiar feature of the colonial book trade but the great majority of the early sales were held in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Only a few were held in the Southern colonies, nearly all of these in Williamsburg and Charleston.¹⁵ Annapolis was too small a community to support a book auction and Rind discovered that he could not profitably dispose of his library in this way.

He finally concluded that the only way to get rid of it was to draw up a scheme for a lottery and instead of giving cash prizes to make the awards in books or merchandise. On May 30, 1764, he published his plan in broadside form, with an apology for having resorted to this somewhat questionable method of selling books:

¹² *Maryland Gazette*, January 13, 1763.

¹³ *Maryland Gazette*, February 10, 1763. Not in Wroth; no copy known.

¹⁴ *Maryland Gazette*, April 5, 1764.

¹⁵ George L. McKay, *American Book Auction Catalogues, 1713-1934*. New York, 1937.

A LOTTERY,

For Disposing of a Large and Valuable Collection of

BOOKS, MAPS, &c

The various Schemes of this Kind which have been offered to the Public, are, I must acknowledge, sufficient to disgust them against any new Proposal of that Nature: This Consideration would indeed deter me from the Attempt, did I not entertain the most sanguine Hopes of Success from the Disinterestedness of my Intentions: Tho' I must confess it is the last Method I would pursue, could I discover any probable Means of reimbursing the great Expence, I have been at, or had my former Plan, which would have been so beneficial to the Public in general, met with that Encouragement, which, I flatter myself, it deserved.¹⁶

Each of the highest prizes of fifty or one hundred dollars' worth of merchandise consisted of "a very valuable, tho' small, Collection of Books." The drawing of the prizes was to be on July 21, 1764, but the fact that the list of the successful participants was not published in the newspaper of that date would seem to indicate that even his unusual scheme of selling books by lottery failed.

Ten years after William Rind's abortive circulating library came to its unfortunate end, a similar library containing over twelve hundred volumes was flourishing in Annapolis. William Aikman, the proprietor, was born in Scotland in 1751. Nothing is known of his early career, but it is possible that as an apprentice to some colonial printer he learned the printing trade that he later used to such good advantage in Jamaica.

The twenty-two year old youth arrived in Annapolis in the Spring of 1773 with an assortment of books and stationery. He took over the store on West Street opposite the Court House, formerly kept by Mr. Colin Campbell, transforming it into a circulating library and bookstore. He soon assembled a collection of books for his circulating library, which he described as:

... above 12 hundred volumes on the most useful sciences, history, poetry, agriculture, voyages, travels, miscellanies, plays, with all the most approved novels, magazines and other books of entertainment . . .¹⁷

He compiled a catalogue of his library and had it printed for free

¹⁶ The following is a description of the broadside:

Annapolis, May 30, 1764. / A Lottery, / For Disposing of a Large and Valuable Collection of / Books, Maps, &c. / . . . [signed] William Rind. [Annapolis: Printed by Green & Rind, 1764.]

Folio broadside. Leaf measures: 12¼ x 7½ inches. Not in Wroth. MdHS (Hayden Collection.)

¹⁷ *Maryland Gazette*, July 8, 1773.

distribution. The only known copy of this catalogue, owned by the Maryland Historical Society, lacks the title page containing the name of the printer and the date of publication. The most recent publication listed by date was the *Town and Country Magazine* for 1771, while written on the cover in the hand of the contemporary owner is the date, 6 October 1775. It was therefore issued during the intervening four-year period. On July 8, 1773, in an advertisement of his circulating library, Aikman mentioned for the first time "Catalogues both of the library and the books he has for sale to be had at his shop." The close similarity of the conditions of subscription to the library as published by him in the newspaper and as found in the catalogue is the link identifying this mutilated catalogue as the one issued by William Aikman in 1773. A supplement to the catalogue listing recent additions was printed in 1774, but no copy is known.

He was apparently planning to extend the scope of his circulating library to include the entire colony, as William Rind had first hoped to do, when he learned that Joseph Rathell, a former resident of Annapolis, was trying to start a library in Baltimore. One week after the announcement of Rathell's library was printed in the *Maryland Journal*, William Aikman wrote:

To the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Town of Baltimore, William Aikman, Bookseller and Stationer, at Annapolis, having been informed that nothing deters a number of the friends of literature in *Baltimore*, from subscribing to his Circulating Library, but the trouble and risk they run of procuring and returning the books, hereby informs such as may incline to become subscribers, that any orders for books left with Mr. *Christopher Johnston*, merchant, in *Baltimore*, will be regularly forwarded by a packet that goes weekly between *Baltimore* and *Annapolis*, and books carried for the small sum of one dollar each, per annum, provided a proper number of subscribers can be got.—There will be about two hundred volumes of all the new publications of merit, imported for the use of the library this fall.

William Aikman has imported in the *Molly*, Captain *Nicholson*, from *London*, a large assortment of books, containing all the *English* classicks, miscellanies, voyages, novels, plays, &c. to be sold at the *London* prices for cash only.¹⁸

This proposal to provide Baltimore readers with books from the Annapolis circulating library and the fact that it was probably instrumental in defeating Rathell's project indicates that the growing commercial town was still dependent upon the older community. After the Revolution the situation was reversed. The important printers, booksellers and circulating libraries were in Baltimore; and

¹⁸ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, October 23-30, 1773.

when Parson Weems visited Annapolis in 1800, he could write, "There is not a book store in the whole town."¹⁹

A few days after making the announcement in the Baltimore newspaper, Aikman received a large assortment of books from London containing English literature, histories, essays, novels, one hundred and fifty plays and a number of Latin and English school books. He informed the subscribers of the library that:

... there will be a large addition of the new publications and periodical papers subjoined to the catalogue upon the arrival of the first ship from London; and such additions will be made from time to time, as will render the Annapolis Library upon a footing, if not superior, to any circulating library on the continent.²⁰

Thereafter, his advertisements were of his bookshop rather than of the circulating library, although there are enough references to it to show that it remained open during his stay in Annapolis.

Like the other colonial booksellers, he frequently announced the arrival of new books from London and usually gave lists of the titles he had for sale. On June 23, 1774, he advertised the following:²¹

Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, 4 vol.—Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. 4 vol. probably fifth edition. Oxford, 1773.

New Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, 3 vol. 4to.—*A new and complete Dictionary of arts and sciences; comprehending all the branches of useful knowledge. . . . By a society of Gentlemen.*

Beattie's Essay on Truth—James Beattie, *An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism*. The fourth edition. London, 1773.

Buchan's Domestic Medicine, best London edition—William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine; or, the Family Physician*. [1772?]

Hume's Essays, 2 vols. octavo—David Hume, *Essays, moral and political*. 2 vol. London, 1768.

Lord Kaim's Elements of Criticism, 2 vols.—Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Elements of criticism*. Fourth edition, with additions. 2 vol. Edinburgh, 1769.

Ferguson's Essay on Civil Society—Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Fourth edition. London, 1773.

Dickson, On Agriculture, 2 vols. last edition—Adam Dickson, *A Treatise on Agriculture*. A new edition. 2 vol. Edinburgh, 1770.

¹⁹ Emily E. F. Skeel, *Mason Locke Weems*, New York, 1929, II, 150-151.

²⁰ *Maryland Gazette*, November 11, 1773.

²¹ In this and the following lists taken from the newspapers, the titles are given first in the abbreviated form as they were printed. The short title is followed by the full author and title if known. The identification of the actual edition has been difficult and in many cases is only conjectural.

Hoyle's Games—Edmond Hoyle, *Mr. Hoyle's games of whist, quadrille, piquet, chess and backgammon, complete. In which are contained, the method of playing and betting at those games, upon equal, or advantageous terms. Including the laws of the several games.* 15th ed. London [1770?]

An elegant edition of Rousseau's Works, 10 vols. translated from the French—Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Works of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Translated from the French.* 10 vol. London, 1773-4.

Sketches from the History of Man, 2 vol. 4to. by Lord Kaim, newly published—Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man.* London, 1774. 2 vol.

Millar on the Distinction of Ranks in Society—John Millar, *Observations concerning the distinction of Ranks in Society.* 2d. ed., greatly enlarged. London, 1773.

Man of Feeling—Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling.* London, 1771.

Man of the World, 2 vols.—Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of the World.* 2 vol. London, 1773.

A Complett Assortment of British Poets.

Latin, Greek, and French school books, small histories for children.

He also listed as "just published" three American editions of popular eighteenth-century comedies:

George Colman, *Man of Business.* Philadelphia, John Dunlap, 1774.

Robert Hitchcock, *The Macaroni.* Philadelphia, William Woodhouse, 1774.

Hugh Kelly, *The School for Wives.* Philadelphia, John Dunlap, 1774.

In August, 1774, he announced as just published Josiah Quincy's *Observations on the Boston Port-Bill*, and advertised Henry Brooke's *Juliet Grenville: or, the History of the Human Heart*, of which he wrote: "It is recommended by the monthly reviewers as a novel of genius and uncommon merit, abounding with sentiments of the most refined kind, animated with the love of virtue."²²

Later in the year he offered a new assortment to the book lovers of Annapolis and the surrounding country. He announced on November 17, 1774, that he had just received:

Lord Kame's History of Man, 2 vol. 4to, newly published—Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man.* 2 vol. London, 1774.

Goldsmith's History of Greece, 2 vol. 8vo.—Oliver Goldsmith, *The Grecian History, from the earliest state to the death of Alexander the Great.* 2 vol. London, 1774.

Essay on Genius by Dr. Gerard, author of the Essay on Taste—Alexander Gerard. *An Essay on Genius.* London, 1774.

The British Poets, 20 vol. 12mo. elegantly printed on a fine writing paper—*The British Poets.* 20 vol. 12mo.

Essay on Public Happiness, 2 vol. 8vo.

The celebrated Dr. Gregory's Legacy to his Daughters, just published.—John

²² *Maryland Gazette*, August 25, 1774.

Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*. London, 1774. (Annapolis ed. printed in Philadelphia, 1775; Boston ed., 1779; many English editions, translated into French).

The Edinburgh Magazines—*The Edinburgh Magazine and Review*. [Edited by a Society of Gentlemen including David Hume, Adam Smith and others] 1773-1776.

Buchanan's Domestic Medicine, best London edition—William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine; or, the Family Physician*. London, 1774.

A variety of the best physical authors.

His advertisement of February 16, 1775, shows that he provided a large assortment of books on history as well as practical works on medicine and surveying:

Hume's History of England, 8 vol. last edition—David Hume, *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*. New edition corrected. 8 vol. London, 1773.

Macauly's History of England, 5 vol.—Mrs. Catherine Graham Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James I to the Elevation of the House of Hanover*. Edit. III. 5 vol. London, 1769-72.

Goldsmith's History of England, 4 vol.—Oliver Goldsmith, *The History of England, from the earliest times to the death of George II*. 4 vol. London, 1771.

Smollet's History of England, with the continuation, 16 vol.—Tobias Smollett, *A complete History of England, from the descent of Julius Caesar, to the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle*. With the continuation in 5 vol. 16 vol. London, c. 1770.

Lord Littleton's History of Henry II, 6 vol.—George Lyttleton, *The History of the Life of King Henry the Second, and of the age in which he lived*. 6 vol. London, 1767-73.

Entick's History of the Late War, 5 vol.—John Entick, *The general History of the late War: containing it's rise, progress and event in Europe, Asia, Africa and America*. 5 vol. London, c. 1772.

Hook's Roman History, 11 vol.—Nathaniel Hooke, *The Roman History from the building of Rome to the ruin of the Commonwealth*. 4th ed. 11 vol. London, 1766-71.

Bolingbroke's Philosophical Works, 5 vol.—Henry Saint-John Bolingbroke, *The Philosophical Works*. 5 vol. London, 1754.

Burn's Justice of the Peace, 4 vol. last edition—Richard Burn, *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer*. 11th ed. 4 vol. London, 1770.

Blackstone's Commentaries, 4 vol.—William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. 6th ed. 4 vol. London, 1774. Or, possibly the 4 vol. Philadelphia edition published by Robert Bell in 1771-72.

Leland's History of Ireland, 4 vol.—Thomas Leland, *The History of Ireland, from the invasion of Henry II*. 3 vol. London, 1773.

Hanway's Travels, 2 vol. 4to—Jonas Hanway, *Travels through Russia into Persia* [in *The World Displayed*, v. 14-15. London, c. 1770.]

London Medical Essays, 4 vol.

Macbridge's Practice of Physic, 4to.

Wyldes, Loves, and Wilson's Surveying—Samuel Wyld, *The Practical Surveyor, or The Art of Land-Measuring made easy*. 4th ed. London, 1760.

With John Love, *The Whole Art of Surveying*. 8th ed. London, 1768 and Henry Wilson, *Surveying improved; or the whole art, both in theory and practice, fully demonstrated . . . to which is now added, Geodoesia accurata*. 6th ed. London, 1769.

Turkish Spy—*Letters writ by a Turkish Spy, who lived five and forty years in Paris . . . from 1637 to 1682*. 26th ed. London, 1770.

Connoisseur—*The connoisseur, by Mr. Town, critic and censor-general*. 6th ed. 4 vol. London, 1774.

Adventurer—*The Adventurer*. New ed. 4 vol. London, 1770.

World—*The World*, by Adam Fitz-Adam. New ed. 4 vol. London, 1772.

Idler—*The Idler*. 2 vol. London, 1761.

Preceptor.

His advertisement of April 13, 1775, reflects contemporary interest in political theory, particularly in its relation to the American colonies:

Journal of the whole proceedings of the continental congress, with General Gage's letter to P. Randolph, Esq.: and the petition to the king. Philadelphia, 1775.

An essay on the constitutional power of Great Britain over the colonies. "Likewise a variety of the latest political pamphlets."

On July 20, 1775, he advertised a large collection of second-hand books which he had purchased from the estate of a deceased clergyman.

a large assortment of books, in history, divinity, miscellanies, arts and sciences, poetry, physic, and a variety of classics, &c. (being partly the library of a clergyman lately deceased) amongst which are the following valuable books, Whitby's commentary on the new testament, 2 vols folio, best edition, 80s. London price is 50s. sterling. Cruden's concordance, 4to. 54s. Saunderson's algebra, 2 vols 4to, scarce, 35s. An elegant edition of Tillotson's sermons, 12 vols. octavo, 140s. Clark's sermons, 8 vols. octavo 80s. Prideaux's connections of the old and new testament, 4 vols. octavo, 40s. Locke on the human understanding, 2 vols. octavo, 22s6d. Smollet's History of England, with the continuation, 16 vol. 9£ 10s. . . . Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, 2 vols. 15s. Hume's Essays, 2 vols. 24s. Lord Kaime's elements of criticism, 2 vol. 24s. Beattie's essay on truth, octavo, 12s6d. Rousseau's Whole Works, 10 vols. 60s. Theobald's Shakespeare, 12 vols. 60s. Turkish Spy, 8 vols. 45s. Heyster's surgery, 2 vols. 4to. 60s. Hanway's Travels, 2 vols. 4to, 10s. Cullen's materia medica, 4to 30s. Lord Littleton's History of Henry 2nd, 6 vols. 3£ 10s. Etc.

In addition to selling books imported from abroad and publications from the presses of Philadelphia and New York, William Aikman published at Annapolis under his own imprint at least four titles in the short period from December, 1774, to August, 1775. As far as is known, he did not operate a printing press himself, but, like the London booksellers, he bought copies of the books he

PROPOSALS FOR ESTABLISHING A CIRCULATING LIBRARY, IN BALTIMORE-TOWN.



O point out the advantages of such an institution, by enlarging on the happy influence which *good Books* have on the understanding, by setting forth the countenance which LIBRARIES have received from the *Literati* in all ages, by urging the delight and profit which our youth may reap from having opportunities of reading frequently, under the eye of their parents and friends, the best authors, or, indeed, to expatiate at all, in favour of a well-conducted CIRCULATING LIBRARY, would, to a people much less intelligent than the inhabitants of this place, be highly unnecessary; the intentional proprietor therefore, after observing that LIBRARIES have become objects of attention in every polite part of *America*, will only inform the Public, that, on being favoured with a suitable number of yearly subscribers, on the conditions undermentioned, he will immediately furnish a *Collection of Books*, not less than eight hundred volumes, by the best authors, with printed catalogues thereof, consisting of

<i>Latin Classics,</i>	<i>Rhetoric,</i>	<i>Adventures,</i>
<i>History,</i>	<i>Mathematics,</i>	<i>Miscellanies,</i>
<i>Poetry,</i>	<i>Astronomy,</i>	<i>Novels,</i>
<i>Religion,</i>	<i>Geography,</i>	<i>Plays</i>
<i>Philosophy</i>	<i>Chronology,</i>	<i>Magazines,</i>
<i>Physic,</i>	<i>Cookery,</i>	<i>Memoirs,</i>
<i>Agriculture,</i>	<i>Voyages,</i>	<i>Pamphlets,</i>
<i>Logic,</i>	<i>Travels,</i>	<i>Essays,</i>

And every other work of *Merit, Erudition* and *true Humour*. The COLLECTION to be occasionally increased with the newest Publications from *London*, &c.

As the advantages of a Library need not be limited to the place where it is established, persons in the country adjacent, becoming subscribers, as is customary, may, with great convenience, be supplied with Books.

C O N D I T I O N S.

1st. Each subscriber to pay four dollars per year, in manner following, viz. one dollar upon their taking out the first book, after the establishment of the Library, of which proper notice will be given; one dollar, six months after; another dollar, nine months after; and the last dollar, at the expiration of the year.

2d. Subscribers in town, to have the privilege of taking books whenever they please, one only at a time.

3d. Subscribers at any distance from Town, to have the additional privilege of taking two books at once.

Other particulars to be communicated when the catalogues are printed.

As the season is advancing when the mind may, with convenience, be gratified and improved with the rational entertainment of reading, those Gentlemen and Ladies disposed to promote this much wished for institution, are requested to be speedy in sending their names, as subscribers, to the *Coffee-House*, the *Fountain-Inn*, and the *Printing-Office*, where subscription papers for the purpose of entering them are kept, that the intentional proprietor may be the sooner enabled to provide an ample collection of books. For the convenience of Gentlemen and Ladies of literary taste and discernment in the country adjacent, subscribers names will also be taken in at Mr. *David Armstrong's*, in the *Forek*, at Mr. *William M'Knight's Tavern*, and at Mr. *Thomas Rickett's*, at *Elk-Ridge*, at which places also, proposals at large may be had gratis.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF RATHELL'S CIRCULATING LIBRARY, 1773

From the broadside in Maryland Historical library

published at wholesale prices from the printer with a special printed title page containing the imprint, "Printed for William Aikman, Bookseller and Stationer, at Annapolis."

In the order of their publication, the books bearing his name in the imprint are as follows:

1. Hawkesworth, John. A | New Voyage, | Round the World, |
In the Years | 1768, 1769, 1770 and 1771; | Undertaken by
Order of his present Majesty, | Performed By | Captain
James Cook, In the Ship Endeavour, | . . . In two Volumes: |
. . . New-York: | Printed for William Aikman, Bookseller and
Stationer, | at Annapolis, 1774.

Printed by James Rivington and containing plate by Paul Revere. The New York edition, published by subscription, was an outright piracy of the English edition sold for three guineas. Rivington proposed to publish an American edition on March 16, 1774, "copied line after line from the London Edition" for one dollar and a half. He allowed booksellers a twenty percent discount and supplied it to them either in sheets, in paper covers or bound in leather. He also offered to put their name on the title page. Aikman's name was among the booksellers who received subscriptions to the New York edition but there were only three names in the list of subscribers from Maryland. The ambitious Maryland bookseller had arranged with Rivington to purchase copies wholesale with his name on the title page and to sell them to the Maryland subscribers as well as his regular customers. On December 1, 1774, it was announced in the *Maryland Gazette* as "This day is published, by William Aikman . . ." The Annapolis edition was sold for 16 shillings. He repeated the announcement on February 23, 1775. Copy of Vol. II at John Carter Brown Library.

2. Gregory, John. A | Father's Legacy | To His | Daughters. |
By The Late | Dr. Gregory, | Of Edinburgh. | [double rule] |
London, Printed: | Philadelphia: | Re-printed for William
Aikman | In Annapolis. | [rule] | M, DCC, LXXV.

This was printed in Philadelphia by John Dunlap. It was announced as published on February 16, 1775, in the *Maryland Gazette*, copies of the trade edition bound and gilded for four shillings and copies of a special edition "thrown off on a superfine writing paper, elegantly bound and gilt" for five shillings six pence. Aikman stated that five thousand copies of the first London edition were sold in three weeks. Copy at Maryland Historical Society and Library of Congress.

3. [Stanhope, Philip Dormer. Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son . . . in four handsome volumes. New-York: Printed for William Aikman, Bookseller and Stationer, at Annapolis, 1775.]

This was printed in New York by John Rivington and Hugh Gainé in 1775 from the second London edition. See Sidney L. Gulick, Jr., "A Chesterfield Bibliography to 1800," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXIX (1935) No. 14. The New York edition was published in July and Aikman announced his edition on August 17, 1775. No copy known.

4. [Bartlet, J. The Gentleman Farrier's Repository . . . Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Cruikshank for William Aikman, 1775.]

Announced in the *Maryland Gazette*, August 24, 1775, "This day is published for, and to be sold by . . ." William Aikman. The first part contained ten minutes's advice to every gentleman planning to purchase a horse and the second part told how to treat the horse after it was purchased. No copy of Annapolis edition known.

All of Aikman's publications were piracies from the English editions, but neither he nor the New York and Philadelphia printers responsible, seem to have felt at all guilty about publishing them. Robert Bell, one of the earliest American publishers to pirate English editions, claimed that he was justified in doing so because it enabled American readers to purchase books which otherwise, because of their expense, would be beyond their reach. In his address to the subscribers of the Philadelphia edition of William Robertson's *History of the Reign of Charles the Fifth* (1770), he congratulated them on their making possible the publication of this American edition "at a price so moderate, that the Man of the Woods, as well as the Man of the Court, may now solace himself with Sentimental Delight." He wrote:

. . . some inimical incendiaries, who daily foster the exiguity of their understandings, by barricading their faculties in the vile and almost impregnable castle of ignorance, exotics to the native rights of American Freedom, have insinuated, that this Edition is an infraction on the monopoly of literary property in Great-Britain . . .²³

He quoted Blackstone to show that America was not necessarily governed by English laws and then, as an additional argument, claimed that if the Dublin booksellers could pirate English editions, there was no legal reason why the American publishers could not do the same. He added that the English copyright law does not reach into a country governed by an assembly "until they become so corrupted, as to barter away the birth-rights of the people. . . ." Although Rivington, the New York printer, was a staunch loyalist, he had no hesitancy in reprinting English editions or importing in wholesale lots the piracies of Dublin booksellers.²⁴ Even Benjamin Franklin, a close friend and correspondent of William Strahan, the prominent London bookseller who held the copyright to many of the pirated books, felt that book piracies were justified when they resulted in lowering the price of the volume. This early American attitude toward copyright is an interesting contrast to the general recognition today, except among certain American printers, of the overwhelming advantages of international copyright legislation.

Citizens of Annapolis probably found Aikman's bookshop and circulating library an attractive place in which to gather. In addition to the books, he sold what he termed "wet goods," which,

²³ William Robertson, *History of the Reign of Charles V*, III, p. [xx-xxv.]

²⁴ *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, LXI (1928), 255-256, 269. Rivington offered the cheap Irish editions to Henry Knox at the suggestion of Col. Olives, Mr. Quincy and Mr. Williams, of Boston, who saw the piracies in Rivington's home.

according to his advertisements, consisted of a few gross of "Old Port Wine of the best quality," London porter, ale and Cheshire cheese.

Aikman was not in sympathy with the course that political events were taking in Annapolis. When certain radical citizens assembled in June, 1774, and by a narrow margin passed a series of non-intercourse resolutions, including one forbidding lawyers to bring suit for the recovery of debts owing to English merchants, he joined a group of leading citizens in signing a public protest.²⁵ Like many of his fellow loyalists, he must have felt that the trouble would soon blow over. But as the tension increased in Annapolis and as the advertisements of departing loyalists filled the columns of the *Maryland Gazette*, he found that he had to make the momentous decision. On August 15, 1775, he announced:

As I intend for the West Indies in 20 days from this date, I am obliged to request of those who are indebted to me, that they will forthwith discharge their respective accounts; and to desire those to whom I am indebted to call upon me for payment.²⁶

In his next and last advertisement he said he was planning to leave September fourth. He kept his word, for when the postmaster of Annapolis sorted out the dead letters in his office in the Spring of the following year, he found three addressed to William Aikman, merchant.

Aikman arrived in Jamaica on October 21, 1775, and opened a stationery and bookstore. A few years later he went into partnership with David Douglas, better known through his connection with the Old American Company, perhaps the most active colonial theatrical company, and on May 1, 1779, they started the *Jamaica Mercury and Kingston Weekly Advertiser*, which after April, 1780, appeared under the more familiar title, the *Royal Gazette*. It was a strange quirk of fortune which brought the manager of the theatrical company which had for several years entertained citizens of the middle and southern colonies into partnership with the Annapolis bookseller. Aikman died in 1784, and his interests were taken over by Alexander Aikman, probably his brother, who had been forced to leave his printing business in Charleston because of his loyalist views.²⁷

Brief reference has already been made to an effort to begin a

²⁵ *Maryland Gazette*, June 2, 1774.

²⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, August 17, 1775.

²⁷ Frank Cundall, "The Press and Printers of Jamaica Prior to 1820," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (1916).

circulating library in Baltimore. Joseph Rathell, who proposed the scheme, had lived for a time in Philadelphia; his name is listed among the Philadelphia subscribers in Robert Bell's edition of Robertson's *History of Charles V* (1770) as a teacher of the English language. He taught school in Annapolis for a short time, but apparently felt that greater opportunity for advancement would be found in Baltimore. There was an increasing demand for schools and bookstores in this rapidly growing commercial center. Not long before Rathell's arrival, William Goddard began the first local newspaper and the town was becoming conscious of its cultural limitations. A subscriber of the *Maryland Journal*, in praising the merits of a weekly newspaper, suggested that Goddard print excerpts from English books which could be read aloud to children:

. . . what a pleasing occupation would it be for a fond parent, when he meets in a news-paper a few well-written lines on any improving subject to summon his little ones into his presence, and, with the hope of reward, stimulate them to an early ambition of excelling each other in reading and explaining such easy passages, as appear most capable of drawing their attention, and leaving a lasting impression on their tender minds: by such gently persuasive methods they would insensibly become habituated to reading and to the love of books, and, by degrees, change their puerile amusements for the noble studies which cultivate the manners and improve the understanding.²⁸

Rathell proposed to give public readings and to lecture several evenings a week. Doubtless these were well attended, for public lectures are known to have been popular in Baltimore after the Revolution.

Mr. Rathell proposes, for two or three evenings the ensuing winter, to read, in public, a few pieces from the most eminent English authors, and to deliver a lecture on the necessity, advantage, beauty, and propriety of a just vocal expression, wherein the use and elegance of accent, quantity, emphasis, and cadence, will be illustrated, and of which timely notice will be given to the public.²⁹

Later he conducted a night school for boys who wanted a knowledge of practical mathematics.³⁰

On October 16, 1773, he announced that he was planning to start a circulating library; a broadside containing the proposals was issued a week later.³¹ The terms of membership in his library differed only slightly from those proposed by William Rind and William Aikman.

²⁸ *Maryland Journal*, October 16-23, 1773.

²⁹ *Maryland Journal*, August 28, 1773.

³⁰ *Maryland Journal*, January 8-20, 1774.

³¹ L. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, No. 322.

T H E
A M E R I C A N M U S E .

The CIRCULATING LIBRARY;
O R,
ADVANTAGES of READING.

THE love of KNOWLEDGE, as the first and best,
Needs not persuasion to secure the breast;
The willing soul the pleasing influence owns,
The sweets of learning for its toil atones.
When letters first illum'd the darken'd mind,
And charm'd the heart, and taught the bigot blind,
SCIENCE and TASTE the wreaths of magic spread,
And SENSE improving by their bands was led.

Progressive still, as GENIUS dar'd essay,
Or art improve the animating lay;
The bold Preceptors of the rising age,
The PRESS, the PULPIT, and the moral STAGE,
Bestow'd their labours with ennobling view,
As virtue's sons the scenes of virtue drew.

Here all their sweets, as flow'rs in gardens grow,
(For mental flow'rs in blooms eternal blow,)
Display their bright variety, to charm
The youth to virtue, and secure from harm:
Thus books o'ercome the ravages of time,
And make us live through ev'ry age and clime;
Thus GREECE and ROME we view in this late age,
And talk with CÆSAR o'er the silent page;
LYCURGUS, SOCRATES, and CATO too,
And deathless worthies of old times we view—
Rapt by the bard, or bath'd in pity's tears,
We soar with Gods triumphant o'er the spheres.

Here ev'ry useful monitor is plac'd,
To mend the heart or regulate the taste;
From HOMER high, to whom sweet charms belong,
To luckless CHATTERTON's enchanting song;
The fire of SHAKESPEARE, MILTON's strain divine,
WALLER's soft song, and THOMSON's deathless line—
Whate'er the antients or the moderns drew,
Whate'er is CURIOUS, GREAT, or GRAND, or NEW,
Are here collected, fit for ev'ry taste,
To form the mental never-cloying feast.

Baltimore, March 1, 1787.



O
slave
lead
both
Ror
the
of t
exp
mea
of c
part
roun
be i
in t
glar
whi
I
the
and
rel;
tho
part
Pol
den
Pre
ed
not
was
the
the
dere
if I
con
Pre
I
hav
sup
intr
fult
mitt
priv
lent
Thi
tar,
the
.

His report, in November, that he had received a number of subscriptions but that there were still not enough to enable him to begin the library, sounds familiar. It is very likely that Aikman's offer to make his library available to the citizens of Baltimore, published on the same day as Rathell's proposals, and undoubtedly in order to forestall him, seriously undermined the plan for a circulating library in Baltimore. At any rate, Rathell could not get enough subscribers, and he gave up the project. Fortunately, unlike Rind, he had not bought the books in advance and therefore did not have his money tied up in an unprofitable investment.

The first successful circulating library in Baltimore was begun during the Revolution, and by 1790, at least three of them had been established.³² In 1787, a poem was published in a Baltimore newspaper which is reproduced here because it shows the contemporary interest in circulating libraries.³³

Lotteries were a familiar method of raising money for roads, bridges, schools, churches and other charitable purposes during the colonial period and as late as the middle of the nineteenth century when they were forbidden by the state legislatures. Individuals took advantage of the gambling instinct inherent in their fellow men by conducting private lotteries for their own benefit. Frequently prizes were given in merchandise so, strictly speaking, they were raffles rather than lotteries, though apparently the colonists did not bother about this little distinction in terminology. William Rind's attempt to dispose of his unprofitable circulating library by this method has already been mentioned. In several other lotteries in colonial Maryland, books were offered as prizes. On May 30, 1765, Thomas Sparrow, the first Maryland engraver and silversmith, announced "the Maryland Lottery," designed to dispose of land, silverplate, and a library which was described in the advertisement:

Also a Library of Books, selected from the best Authors, viz. Swift's Works, Pope's, Addison's, Shakespeare's Butler's Johnson's, Hooke's Smollett's, Congreve's, Gay's, Rowe's, Otway's and Steele's works; Chamber's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, Owen's Ditto, Blaives Lex Mercatoria; Statutes at large, 8 vols. Quarto, a new Edition; McKnight's Harmony of the Gospels; Leland's Works; Parliamentary History of Great Britain, 24 vols; a general History of the World, in 40 vols; Lady Montague's celebrated Letters and Travels; Entick's History of all the Transactions of the late War; Smollett's, Hume's, Rapin's and Tindal's Histories of England;

³² J. T. Wheeler, *Maryland Press, 1777-1790*, partially unpublished master's thesis, pp. 114-119.

³³ *Maryland Gazette or the Baltimore Advertiser*, March 6, 1787.

and a very great variety of Books and other Articles, extreamly useful and ornamental.³⁴

Sparrow was unable to interest his neighbors in buying lottery tickets. But a year later, James Rivington, of Philadelphia, signed the advertisement and listed lottery agents in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chestertown, Georgetown and Williamsburg. Perhaps, under the direction of this able promoter, who subsequently became one of the leading booksellers and publishers in the colonies, the Maryland lottery was a success.³⁵

Another lottery, about which even less is known, was advertised in the Annapolis newspaper.

The Managers of the Bohemia Library Lottery hereby give Notice, That they will certainly Draw the same, at Caecil County Court-House, on Monday the 15th of August next.³⁶

The drawing was held as announced, and the winning numbers were printed in the *Maryland Gazette* on July 26, 1764.

Merchants and factors in the colony partially supplied the demand for books which in the northern colonies would have been taken care of by booksellers in the urban centers. In making an inventory of the goods belonging to Foster Cunliffe & Sons in the store at Oxford in 1765, Henry Callister listed the following books:

11 plain bibles	1 Phradras's Fables
7 gilt ditto	4 nomen Clatura [?]
1 large prayer book	1 sentinte [?]
5 plain common prayer books	33 horn books
10 Oxford Testaments	9 gilt primmers
4 Introductions to the Latt. Tongue	3 Bailey's dictionaries
2 Latin Testaments	2 Atkinson's Epitome
14 psalters	3 Crocker's Arithmeteck
29 Chapman's books	1 Ovids metamorp
8 Latin Books	1 Erasmus
7 ditto	3 mariners Compass's rectify
3 ditto	1 Mariners Callender ³⁷

Samuel Dorsey, Junior, proprietor of a general store at Elkrigde Landing, like several other Maryland merchants, printed annually a list of new merchandise recently received from Europe. Books were sometimes mentioned in these advertisements:

³⁴ *Maryland Gazette or the Baltimore Advertiser*, March 6, 1787.

³⁵ See Victor Hugo Paltsits's excellent biographical sketch of him in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 15, 637-638.

³⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, July 28, 1763.

³⁷ Henry Callister letterbook, II, 233. Inventory 12 October 1756.

. . . Spelling Books, and small Books for Children, Plays, single Sermons, Baldwin's Daily Journal, Lady's Memorandum Book, Chapman Books, Bibles, and Testaments . . .⁸⁸

The inventory of Malcom Adams, an owner of a general store in Baltimore Town in 1767, shows that books were being sold there at an early date:

18 Quarto Bibels	Flavels Works in Fol
1 fine d ^o	5 Ambrose looking to Jesus
98 common d ^o	3 prima &c
6 Bibels with Notes	1 Ready Reckoner
1 fine d ^o 2 vol	1 Dodrids Rise & progress
1 d ^o all gilt	3 d ^o on Religion
4 Books of Grays Works	3 Rowes Letters
6 d ^o Confessions of Faith	3 Sherlocks on Death
1 Prideaux Connections 4 vol	6 Psalm Books
3 Mairs Bookkeeping	2 doz ^{on} & 3 Common Historys
1 Knox's History	4 plays
1 Watsons Body of Divinity	6 Gospel Sonnets
1 Bostons Sermons in 3 vol	9 Memories of Elizabeth Cavins
2 Catechisms Explained	4 D ^o of Thos Halliburton
1 Rollins ancient History 10 Vol	4 Guthries Tryals
4 Harveys Sermons	10 Wilsons Balm of Gilliad
3 D ^o s Dialogues 2 vol each	13 Wilsons Caticisms Explain'd
6 D ^o s Meditations	2 doz ⁿ & 3 d ^o on the Sacrament
2 Theron & Haspatto 2 vol	3 Durhams Riches of Christ
2 Crookhanks History 2 vol	4 smiths on Judgment
2 Allans Works 2 vols	2 setts School Books
3 Rutherfords Letters	1 pair fine Bibles
2 Pattens Navigation	Spectator 7 vol.
3 Wise's Companion	1 Telimachus
1 Boyers French Grammer	1 Addisons Evidence
3 Watts Psalms	1 Gospel Mystery
5 Montagues Letters	1 Charles 12th
	5 plays ⁸⁹

The subscription list of Robert Bell's edition of Robertson's *History of Charles V* contains eighty-five Maryland names out of a total of five hundred listed. Merchants who sold books in their stores can readily be identified because Bell entered opposite their name the number of copies they desired:

Alexander Hamilton, Merchant, of Piscataway, 12 sets
 Hugh Lennox, Merchant, of Newton, Chester, 12 sets
 James M'Beth, Merchant, of Baltimore, 24 sets
 Thomas Williams, and Co., Merchants, of Annapolis, 24 sets.

The order books of the Annapolis firm of Wallace, Davidson and

⁸⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, May 30, 1765.

⁸⁹ Baltimore County Inventories, Liber H. 29 August 1767.

Johnson from 1771 to 1775 reveal the extent of the book importations handled by Maryland merchants. They owned a retail store in Annapolis and acted as agents in distributing iron, wheat and lumber produced in Maryland. At first they avoided the tobacco trade because they felt that it was too speculative but later they accepted consignments for sale in London. Two of the firm remained in Maryland, and Joshua Johnson, the third, opened an office in London where he could sell the raw materials received from the colony and provide his partners and his Maryland correspondents with the goods they desired. The ledgers in which he entered the orders from the colony have been preserved and remain a valuable record of goods imported at the close of the colonial period.

The first large consignment of books to his partners was sent on April 25, 1771, and contained:

Nineon de Lenclo's Letters, 2 Volumes

Saxbys Book of Rates

1 Sett of Chrsyall with they [sic] key

Tom Jones 4 Volumes

Tessot on the Health

2 doz the Newest Plays now acted at home to cost 6/ pr doz.

Likewise the following Plays.

Falce Delicacy

Clandestine Marriage

Desert Island

Consious Lovers

Susspicious Husband

Provoked Husband

Love in a Village

The Guardian

Comus

The Art of Cookery made plain & easy by a Lady the newest Edition

The Vanity of Human Wishes

The Family devotion by the Author of the System of Divinity

The Fool of Quality if ther is 5 Volumes if not dont send 'em

A commentary on Archbishop Seekers Letters to Lord Walpole concerning the establishment of Bishop's in America. Printed by Dilly in the Poultry.

Atkin's Reports 3 Volumes

Wilsons do 2 do bound together

Burns Ecclesiastical Law 4 or 5 small Books

5th Volum of Bacons Abridgement

Blackstons Commentaries 4 Volumes

3d Volum of Burrows Reports ⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 22. 25 April 1771. Hall of Records, Annapolis.

In November the following books were ordered:

2 Fennings Dictionaries	2 Setts Fool Quality
2 Bailies ditto	1 Sett Spectator
2 dyches ditto	1 Sett Guardian
1 doz Fennings Spelling Books	1 Sett Tatler
1 doz Dyches ditto	1 Sett Turkish Spy
4 doz small Histories	6 neat Bibles
1 doz small red & Green Morocco	6 common Bibles
Gilt Prayer Books	1 Sett Enticks late War
3 Doctor Tissot on Health	1 Sett dodsleys Poems
2 Setts Tom Jones	1 Sett Popes Homer
2 Setts crysall	1 Sett Shakespears Works
2 Setts R. Randum	4 doz Plays sorted some of the
2 Setts Peregrine Pickle	Newest
	1 Saxbys book of Rates ⁴¹

In March, 1772, he was asked to send a consignment of books containing several bibliographical tools helpful in collecting a private library:

Chronica Juridicialia Eddition 8vo printed 1739 if continued down send it, or a latter Eddition if any

Werralls last Bibliotheca Legum

Directions for a proper Choice of Authors to form a Library with a List of proper Books on the several subjects printed in 1766.

A Compleat Alphabetical Catalogue of Modern Books with the prices affixed printed in 1766 with the Appendix's since published to the present Time

A Catalogue of Modern Books with the different *Edditions* Dates & Prices as Worralls

Bibliotheca Legum if any in print is also desired to be sent

Hanways Account of the Hospital for foundlings 8vo

The above are to be had of Mr. John Whiston Book Seller in Fleet street

Add to the above a small collection of any new Entertaining Novels & Plays

Send 10 or 20 Doz of old Magazines if to be had about 1/ pr doz

½ doz Glasses Cookery

1 of the latest Book of Rates

Amongst the assortment of Books let there be the following

3 Setts Humphry Clinker

6 Young mans Companion

Prior & Gays Poems 3 of each

2 new Bath Guides

2 Footes Works

1 Preceptor

2 Lady M. W. Montagues Poems

2 Trisham Shandy 5 Vols

1 Shakespear's Works by Johnson

⁴¹ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 58-59. 26 November 1771.

- 1 Rollins Belles Lettres
- 3 Builders Jewel London Architect. 6 Bench Mates
- 1 Andrew Paladio.⁴²

In October, 1772, Richard Tilghman Earle, probably a store-keeper, ordered an assortment of books:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 2 large House Bibles | 3 Lissots on Health with Cadogans |
| 6 School do | Treatise on the Gout |
| 1 doz Testaments | 1 Spectator 8 Volumes |
| 2 doz Psalters | 2 Littletons Dialogues |
| 2 doz gilt Primmers | 1 Hirds Dialogues |
| 2 doz horn Books | 1 Vicar of Wakefield |
| 8 Common Prayer Books | 2 Mairs Book Keeping |
| 4 very good do | 1 Book of Rates by a Late Author |
| 2 doz Dilworths Spelling Books | shewing the Duties, Drawbacks |
| 2 doz entertaining & instructive | & Debentures &c on Goods in & |
| Books for Children | out. |
| 3 Johnsons Dictionary | Feelings of the Heart to be ex- |
| 4 Gazetteers | changed |
| 1 doz Tom Jones | 1 Sett of the Art of Fencing famili- |
| 1 doz Sn. Charles Grandison— | arized or a new Treatise on the |
| abridged for Children | Art of Sword play by Mr. |
| 2 doz Chap Books | Oliver. ⁴³ |
| 2 Setts Preceptor | |

Johnson received several orders from Maryland merchants who wanted to stock their stores with books:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1 doz Dyches Spelling books | 4 doz Small histories Sorted |
| 1 doz Dilworth do | [cards] |
| ½ doz Testaments | ½ doz Bailey's Dictionaries |
| ½ doz Bibles | Statues at Large by Owen Ruffhead |
| ½ doz large Family do | Burrows Reports |
| ½ doz Common prayer books | Bacons Abridgement of the Common |
| [paper and bound books] | Laws |
| 2 doz horn books | Lord Raymonds Reports |
| 2 doz Gilt Primmers | Strange's Reports All in English ⁴⁴ |
| [ink Powder] | |

William Lux ordered a collection of parliamentary debates in April, 1773.

Debates in the House of Lords 1660 to 1742 in 8 Vols in 8vo Published by Chandler Cost new £2:8

Debates in the House of Common, 1660 a 1742. 14 Vols do Published Chandler ditto £4:4

Debates in the House of Common, 1620 1621 2 Vols Published by Gray £10

⁴² Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 78-79. 20 March 1772.

⁴³ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson I, 114-115. Richard Tilghman Earle 21 Oct. 1772.

⁴⁴ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book II, unpagd. Buchanan & Cowen [1773].

If the debates are continued to the present time, send them

Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws

Universal Magazine from 1 January 1763 to December 1772 bound & lettered

Junius Letters

Directions for a proper Choice of Authors to form a Library Printed for I Whiston 1766⁴⁵

Music was a popular pastime for Marylanders and the inventories of estates frequently mention violins, jews harps and other instruments. Johnson received an order for an assortment of musical instruments and books in 1773:

Musick

Weidmans second Setts of German Flute Concerts, Two Setts of a Single Concerto for the German Flute by Seignior Romenio. Two Setts of a Single Concerto for the German Flute by Mr Wendling. Two Setts Bowerdeinis Trios for 3 German Flutes.

The Overture in 8 Parts. In Artaxerxes, The five first Numbers of the Monthly Military Concertos.

Two of Tansours New Musical Grammers, one C Clavinet of Colliers make.

[several quires of music paper bound up in oblong folios]

Two Setts of Apollos Cabinet or the Muses Delight An Accourate Collection of English & Italian Songs, Cantalas & Duetts set to Musick for the Harpsicord, Violin German Flute &c with Twelve Duetts for two French Horns Composed by Mr Charles and Instructions for the Voice, Violin Harpsicorde or Spinet German Flute Common flute Haut-boy French Horn Bason and Bass-Violin

also A Compleat Musical Dictionary and Several Hundred English, Irish and Scotch Songs without Musick.⁴⁶

In 1774, he received personal orders for books from Alexander Hanson and Nathaniel Ramsey and was particularly requested to purchase them second-hand if possible.

Books for Alexn. Hanson

Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown

Harris's Practice in Chancery

Trials at Nisi Prices

Gilberts Practice in Common Pleas

Gilbert on Replevins

Heaths Maxims

Doctor & Student

The Art & Science of Pleading

Stranges Reports

Crookes Reports

Montesquieses Spirit of Laws

Lock on Government

Beallys Essay on Truth

Ferguson on Civil Society

Second Hand Books will be far most acceptable provided they be Sound & not of the oldest & Obsolete Editions, but if such are not Conveniently to be Mr Johnson is desired to Purchase them new

⁴⁵ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 131. William Lux 2 April 1773.

⁴⁶ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 154. 24 May 1773.

For Nathl. Ramsey

Burrows reports 3 Vol folio

Theory of Evidence any Edition

Willsons reports any Edition

English Pleader do

Baron Gilberts Law of Evidence 2d Edition 1760 or a later Edition if to be had

Purchase these as the former at Second hand if you can.⁴⁷

Greenberry Chaney, a resident of Annapolis, asked him to send a set of Theobald's *Shakespeare*, Swift's *Works* and the *Spectator* and particularly requested that they be on "good paper & neatly bound."⁴⁸

Johnson also purchased paper, ink and type for the local printing shop which Anne Catherine Green was successfully operating with the aid of her sons.

Printing Utencils.⁴⁹

10 lbs Bourgeois thick spaces)
5 lbs Bourgeois M Quadrants) of Willm. Caslon.

4 doz strong Printing Ink)
4 doz weak do) of Mary Blackwell Woodseter [?]

He also furnished her with "two or three Magazines & a Parcel of the Newest Papers, to be sent her by every opportunity that offers."⁵⁰ From these she probably culled the information which filled her "Foreign News" columns.

There was a bookseller at Georgetown in Kent County in 1762, but how long he remained is not known. In a letter to Mr. Carmichael, father of William Carmichael, the American diplomat, Henry Callister suggested that they go up to Georgetown to look over his stock:

I want to keep your Charron [Pierre Charron, *Of Wisdom*] a little longer; I have not yet gone through. I know not whether it may not cost you & me some money to have a book seller so near us. I think the best way is for you to call here some fair day, that we may go together the next mornnig to George town & take a full view of the shop.⁵¹

Most of the book users on the Eastern Shore lived close enough so that a journey of a day or two on horse would enable them to visit the Philadelphia book-market. Under these circumstances the local bookseller probably found it difficult to make a living. Callister's first thought when he wanted to get a copy of the treaty

⁴⁷ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book II, unpagcd. WD&J [nd. c. 1774.]

⁴⁸ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 167. 14 October 1773 Greenberry Chaney.

⁴⁹ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 68. 19 June 1772.

⁵⁰ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 45. 4 August 1771.

⁵¹ Henry Callister letterbook, III, 508. HC to Mr. Carmichall, 6 March 1762.

made with the Indians of the Six Nations, at Lancaster in June 1744, was to send to Philadelphia for it.

Another evidence of the close contact with Philadelphia is the fact that many inhabitants of the Eastern Shore and some on the Western Shore of Maryland subscribed to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. When Franklin visited the colony in 1754, he appointed Thomas Ringold, of Chester Town, and William Young, of Joppa, his agents to collect the annual subscriptions.⁵² Philip Hughes, rector of Coventry Parish in Somerset County on the Eastern Shore, ordered his books of William Bradford, the Philadelphia printer and bookseller:

I should be obliged to you to forward any new Books or Productions of Genius to me, such as Pamphlets &c & you shall be payd with thanks.⁵³

The letterbooks of Henry Callister, Stephen Bordley, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, show that many of the books owned by Marylanders were imported directly from London in exchange for the annual tobacco shipment. This direct trade with London booksellers gradually decreased as the tobacco business became less important in the economic life of Maryland. The resulting development of bookstores and circulating libraries in Baltimore and the other population centers of Maryland is an important phase of the cultural history of the state which deserves investigation.

⁵² George S. Eddy, *Account Books Kept by Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1929, pp. 110-111, 125-126.

⁵³ Philip Hughes to Wm. Bradford, 26 September 1768. In Wm. H. Corner papers at Maryland Historical Society.

AUDUBON AND HIS BALTIMORE PATRONS

By ROBINSON C. WATTERS

In my possession is a Baltimore City Directory for 1838 and also a well preserved set of Audubon's *Birds of America*, which were in the process of completion at the same period. The former is small with a brown muslin cover, the paper of fair quality and the printing very good considering the kind of hand press then used. The population including whites and blacks, the latter both free and slave, amounted to about one-tenth of what the census gives today, while Mr. R. J. Matchett, the painstaking editor and compiler of this compact little volume, has stated that it is the eighth *Director* the city so far has had. Known as Matchett's *Baltimore Director*, this was published by him at the northeast corner of Gay and Water streets, 1837-1838. At that time Samuel Smith was Mayor, William Grason, Governor of Maryland, and Martin Van Buren, President of the United States.¹

On white paper 4 inches by 6¾ inches, the closely arranged names and addresses of inhabitants are preceded by emerald green and pumpkin yellow pages filled with various announcements, such as importers of hardware, tobacco, segars and snuff, drapers and tailors, famous medicines of which a partial list includes anti-bilious pills, elixir for violent colds and coughs, infallible ague and fever drops warranted to cure, itch ointment guaranteed to give relief by one application without mercury, a nervous cordial recommended as a grand restorative for inward weakness, Persian lotion for tetters and irruptions, essence and extract of mustard for rheumatism, damask salve, anodyne elixir for the cure of headaches, various toothache drops, eye water, corn plasters and other pharmaceutical matter to be taken for almost every malady then known.

Merchants and dealers are also offering brass and wood clocks, hides and leather goods, soap and candles, coach and fringe material, foreign fruits, preserves and nuts, umbrellas, parasols and canes, while the Phoenix Shot Tower as it was then termed—it re-

¹ This little directory belonged to my paternal parent who died in 1906 when senior member of the old firm of Armstrong, Cator & Co. which was founded in 1805 by Thomas Armstrong, a north Irishman, who emigrated to America in a sailing vessel. My father (William J. H. Watters) was born July 15th, 1834, on Parson's Creek, thirteen miles from where I am at present writing in Dorchester County, Maryland, and happened to be the son of a country physician who visited his patients while moving about on horseback with saddle bags containing medicines, live leeches and other items pertaining to his profession. However, it so transpired that at the age of thirteen, my parent, having been left an orphan, departed from his native soil to cast his lot in the alluring City of Baltimore where I was born.

mains standing today as a venerable landmark—is well illustrated with a clear wood cut in the center of an advertisement, at the bottom of which appears the name of Robert McKim, then president of the enterprise.

And now to check the names of certain citizens appearing in that little directory of a century ago with another list to be found in such a far different and elaborate publication as the first octavo edition of Audubon's *Birds of America*, an ornithological masterpiece. Within these original seven volumes are included the names of the first subscribers. Inasmuch as similar lists have usually been thrown out by bookbinders, it is rare nowadays to find an early publication of any character containing all of them.

With the little directory, I have carefully made comparisons so far as the volumes in my possession are concerned. Audubon's initial patrons total as follows: Baltimore 166, New York 116, Philadelphia 63, Charleston, S. C., 62, Boston 54, New Bedford, Mass., 46, and Richmond, Va., 32, while the remainder were distributed in lesser places over a wide field.

The number of pre-publication subscribers, so far as I am able to determine, amounted to 797—a goodly quantity when we consider that our nation was still young and travel and communication slow and tedious. However, as the early numbers began to appear additional sets were ordered here and there by zealous individuals. The final sales amounted to 1,198, and the subscribers in Boston eventually outnumbered those in Baltimore.² However, the sets which found their way into the homes of influential Baltimoreans were nearly one-fifth of the original total, and were distributed in an appreciative and cultured center where Audubon tarried and made numerous friends. One of these was Dr. Gideon B. Smith, a subscriber and a foremost supporter.³ The following letter to his family attests the welcome Audubon enjoyed here:⁴

² F. H. Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist*. New York, 1917. The work was in 100 parts issued at intervals during the years 1840-1844 at \$1.00 the part. For the elephant folio edition at \$1,000 the set the artist had found but five subscribers in Maryland. These were Robert Gilmor, John B. Morris, Dr. Thomas Edmondson, one of the Smiths, and the State itself.

³ Dr. Smith (1793-1867) first achieved prominence through his advocacy of silkworm culture in this country. This was in 1829 when he announced through the *American Farmer* the development of a new silk reel and advertised for sale silkworm eggs at the rate of 10,000 eggs for \$5.00. He became editor of this journal, was an entomologist of note, studied medicine at the University of Maryland and received his degree in 1840. He conducted in Baltimore the *Journal of the American Silk Society*, which was organized in this city at the National Silk Convention of 1838.

In token of obligation to Dr. Smith, Audubon gave the name "Smith's Longspur" to one of the bird species he discovered, not however a native or migrant in Maryland.

⁴ Reprinted in part from *The Auk*, 25: 166-169 (April, 1908) by permission.

Baltimore, Feb. 21st, 1840.
11 o'clock at night.

My dear friends

So far so good, but alas! I am now out of numbers to deliver to my subscribers here. Here! where I expected to procure a good number more. This list is composed of excellent men and all good pay. I have in my pocket upwards of one hundred names, whom I am assured are likely to subscribe. Therefor I will not leave Baltimore for some days to come at least. I forward a copy of this list to Chevalier by the same mail and yet you may as well inquire if he has received it. More numbers I must have as soon as possible as all my subscribers here are anxious about receiving their copies, unfortunately I had only 90 No. 2. I look upon this list as a capital list. I have sent Mr. Ridgley of Annapolis a No. 1 and a prospectus, and expect some names tomorrow evening from that quarter.

I will remit money to Phila. and will let you know how much as soon as I can. The box has arrived here safely and tomorrow or Monday I will deliver Biographies &c. Dr. Potter is very ill and poor and yet I hope to get his note before I leave here. . . .

The amount of attention which I have received here is quite bewildering, the very streets resound with my name, and I feel quite alarmed and queer as I trudge along. Mess. Meckle, Oldfield and the Brune family have all assisted me in the most kind and brotherly manner, indeed I may say that my success is mostly derived from these excellent persons.

. . . I feel that Theodore Anderson will not live long. Mr. Morris has not yet returned from Annapolis. See that the *notice* in the *Baltimore Patriot* which I sent you yesterday is inserted in the *Albion*, the *New York Gazette* and if possible in the *Courier* and *Enquirer*. . . .

I was invited last evening to a great ball, and should have gone had not my accident of shin bones prevented me. I am told that I would have had some 20 names there.

. . . Recollect that our agents name is Gideon B. Smith and a most worthy man he is, highly recommended by Robert Gilmor and others.⁵

[Unsigned]

The original Baltimore roster appears in the back of Part 1 which came off the press of J. B. Chevalier at Philadelphia in 1840 and contains the following charming introduction:

Having been frequently asked, for several years past, by numerous friends of science, both in America and Europe, to present to them and to the public a work on the Ornithology of our country, similar to my large work, but of such dimensions, and at such a price, as would enable every student or lover of nature to place in his Library, and look upon it during his leisure hours

⁵ The Marylanders mentioned here by surname only have been identified as David Ridgely, librarian of the State Library 1827 to 1842; Dr. Nathaniel D. Potter, author and member of the University of Maryland faculty; Robert Mickle, cashier of the National Union Bank for nearly half a century; Granville S. Oldfield, commission merchant; Frederick W. Brune Sr. and his family; Col. Theodore Anderson, long a customs official here; and George S. Morris, agent for Thistle Mills.

as a pleasing companion—I have undertaken the task with the hope that those good friends and the public will receive the "Birds of America," in their present miniature form, with that favour and kindness they have already evinced toward one who never can cease to admire and to study with zeal and the most heartfelt reverence, the wonderful productions of an Almighty Creator

J. J. Audubon.

New York, Nov. 1839

If any descendants of these earlier citizens who possessed both virtue and liberality should happen to read this article, then would it not be interesting to observe the name of an honored ancestor who actually came in contact or pleasantly had met the immortal naturalist, famous backwoodsman, historic wanderer and incomparable bird artist, during his friendly sojourn in old Baltimore?

May it therefore be noted that Robert McKim was the first Baltimore subscriber, while the fourth in order of sequence became the original owner of the set from which I am quoting, obtained in my youth from the elderly and affable Mr. Schmidt who maintained a second-hand book store on the east side of North Howard street just above Madison. At the time of making this highly prized acquisition, I attended Marston's Preparatory School on Madison avenue just around the bend from Eutaw street and opposite Mount Calvary Church. At such a period I could not readily produce the anxiously needed sixty dollars that the verbose old Teuton was asking for what would now be a wonderful bargain. However, a person since departed and whose name I highly reverence, made such a cherished belonging possible, and now to paraphrase a part of Audubon's blissful introductory—'I will look upon those beautiful colored plates and read his edifying text during my leisure hours as pleasing companions'—indeed a delightful memorial from which can be gleaned the beautiful spirit of wild life and alluring out-of-doors as a reverie that will abide until my end.

THE BALTIMORE PATRONS OF JOHN JAMES AUDUBON
ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Robert McKim
John Gable
J. Q. Hewlett
Basil B. Gordon
P. E. Thomas
J. E. Atkinson
C. W. Pairo
R. M. R. Smith
Thomas P. Williams
Hough, Hupp & Co.

Samuel Hoffman
J. Pennington
Gustav W. Lurman
Robert P. Brown
H. D. Chapin
Capt. Samuel Ringold, U. S. A.
Robert Mickle
John V. L. McMahon
John Glenn
Wm. E. Mayhew

Evan T. Ellicott
 Elias Ellicott
 Samuel & Philip T. Ellicott
 Hugh McElderly
 Wm. McDonald & Son
 Thomas M. Smith
 Thomas Whitridge
 Samuel Hurlbut
 G. S. Oldfield
 John Hurst
 Francis T. King
 Wm. H. Beatty
 James W. Jenkins
 W. H. DeC. Wright
 John Ridgeley
 W. G. Harrison
 John Clark
 David Keener
 Charles Wyeth
 Enoch Pratt
 Martin Keith, Jr.
 James Harwood
 Samuel K. George
 M. N. Falls
 E. Jenner Smith
 Hon. Judge U. S. Heath
 William J. Albert
 George Baughman
 William Reynolds
 Miss Sarah F. Law
 General G. H. Stewart
 William N. Baker
 Richard Duvall
 George Brown
 Johns Hopkins
 Miss Emily Hoffman
 Ch. Simon
 A. B. Riely
 C. S. Fowler
 Charles F. Mayer
 Mrs. Samuel Feast
 H. Lee Roy Edgar
 Charles W. Karthause
 Thomas G. Pitts
 B. Deford
 R. Sturges
 Alexander Turnbull
 Philip T. George
 William Schley
 C. Kretzer
 D. S. Wilson

John Buckler, M. D.
 W. F. Brune
 John H. B. Latrobe
 J. Mason Campbell
 Com. Jacob Jones, U. S. N.
 John L. Dunkel
 Wm. H. Hoffman
 Robert A. Taylor
 Joseph Todhunter
 P. Macauley, M. D.
 Edward Patterson
 John Bradford
 George M. Gill
 Thomas Swan
 R. S. Stewart, M. D.
 St. Mary's College
 I. N. Nicollet
 W. C. Shaw
 Comfort Tiffany
 George W. Cox
 John C. Brune
 Edward Pitman
 J. McHenry Boyd
 George W. Dobbin
 T. Parkin Scott
 George T. Jenkins
 Hugh Jenkins
 John Nelson
 James Howard
 Frederick Rodewald
 John McTavish
 Samuel Riggs
 Thomas Harrison
 Andrew Aldridge
 John H. Alexander
 Samuel Jones, Jr.
 Thomas R. Ware
 George C. Howard
 Charles Fisher & Co.
 John R. Moore
 P. Baltzell
 Thomas Meredith
 Andrew D. Jones
 William Woodward
 J. S. Inloes
 S. T. Thompson
 John K. Randall
 William Kennedy
 Mark W. Jenkins
 James L. Hawkins
 Richard Plummer

James Armour
 Thomas W. Hall
 George C. Morton
 Wm. Stewart Appleton
 Alex. L. Boggs
 Hugh Birkhead
 Thomas Palmer
 A. B. Cleveland, M. D.
 Hon. Judge John Purviance
 George W. Hall
 Lambert Gettings
 Z. C. Lee
 John M. Harman
 Thomas Butler
 Gideon B. Smith, M. D.
 James Cheston
 James Gibson
 J. T. Ducatel
 Robert Gilmore
 Mrs. William S. Winder
 William C. Pogue
 Isaac Munroe

Robert M. Ludlow
 Charles Howard
 Robert S. Voss
 Charles A. Williamson
 Benjamin D. Higdon
 George Tiffney
 James H. Marston
 R. M. McDowell
 Plaskett & Cugle
 Benjamin C. Ward
 O. C. Tiffney
 Richard Sewell
 Reverdy Johnson
 Richard Linthicum
 H. G. D. Carroll
 Alonzo Lilly
 E. B. Loud
 George S. Norris
 Brantz Mayer
 Samuel McPherson
 Nathan Rogers
 David U. Brown

ANNAPOLIS PATRONS

R. W. Gill
 T. W. Franklin
 T. W. Wells
 Mrs. Bland
 Sommerville Pinckney
 Thomas H. Alexander

Wm. S. Green
 A. Randall
 G. R. Barber
 Col. J. B. Walbach, U. S. A.
 Capt. P. F. Voorhees, U. S. N.

ROBERT MILLS AND THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT IN BALTIMORE ¹

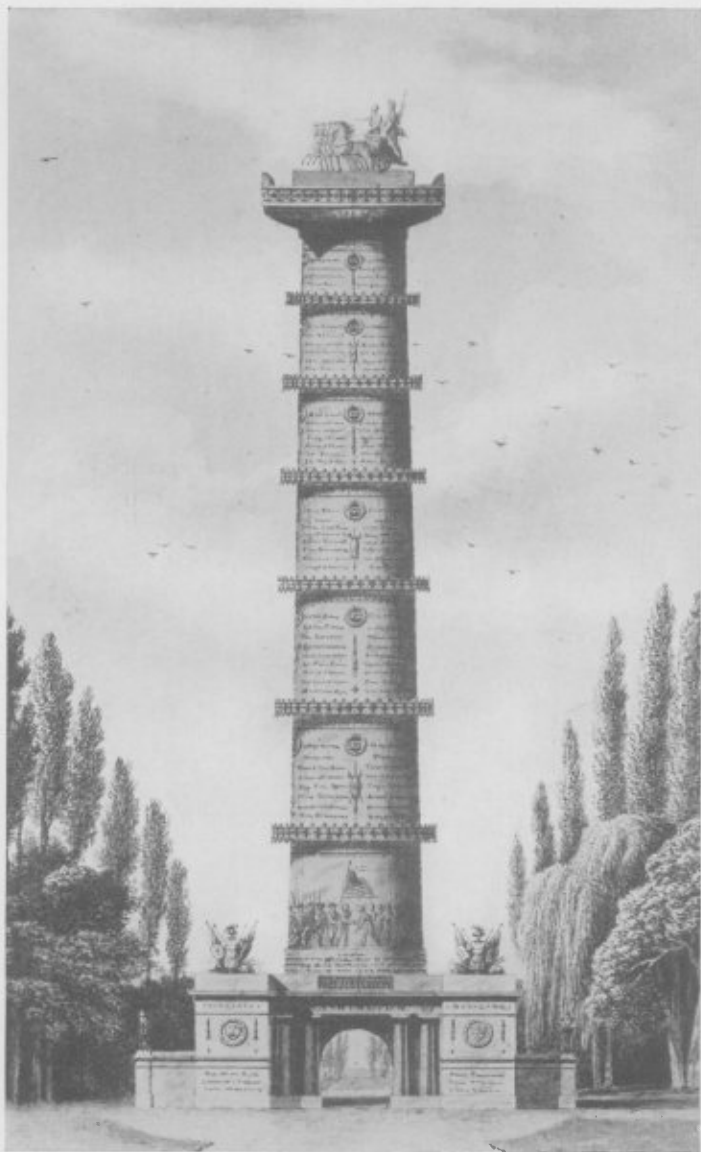
"The man of business, the statesman, the patriot, the warrior, while surveying the monument of Washington, will feel a purer flame inspire his bosom, than does a pilgrim of Mecca, while worshipping at the tomb of Mahomet." Thus did Robert Mills, architect of the Washington Monument in Baltimore, speak of the effect which he hoped his work would have on the minds of those who saw the memorial. He made the observation towards the end of a series of "reflections," after he had written in his notebook a detailed description of the column he proposed for Baltimore. The scheme was changed before it was presented to the Board of Managers, and there were further alterations during the actual construction, but these words appear to have been a text which guided Mills throughout his labors.

The first step in the erection of a monument to the memory of George Washington was the presentation to the General Assembly of a petition for a lottery to raise money with which to defray the cost. The petition, signed by hundreds of Baltimore citizens, was got up in the latter part of the year 1809, just before the tenth anniversary of the death of the first President. The Act granting the request was passed and approved on January 6, 1810, and a Board of Managers of twenty-three members was appointed to direct the proceedings. John Comegys, the first president, served until his death in 1815, when he was succeeded by James A. Buchanan. David Winchester was treasurer and Eli Simkins (not a member of the Board) fulfilled the duties of secretary. The other members were Robert Gilmor, Jr., James Calhoun, Jr., Dr. James Cocke, Isaac McKim, Washington Hall, Lemuel Taylor, Nicholas G. Ridgely, James Williams, General William H. Winder, Nathaniel F. Williams, James Barroll, James Patridge, John Frick, Levi Hollingsworth, Fielding Lucas, Jr., Benj. H. Mullikin, George Hoffman, William Gwynn, Robert Miller, and Edward J. Coale.²

These gentlemen arranged for the conduct of the lottery, and after three years sufficient progress had been made to take the next step. At a meeting on February 15, 1813, it was voted to offer \$500 for the best plan of a monument not to exceed \$100,000 in cost. The

¹ Prepared for publication at request of the editor by William D. Hoyt, Jr.

² The texts of the petition and the Act, and the minutes of all the meetings of the Board are in a manuscript volume, "Papers Relating to Washington Monument," in the Maryland Historical Society library.



ORIGINAL DESIGN BY ROBERT MILLS FOR THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT,
BALTIMORE. FROM THE SOCIETY'S COLLECTIONS

offer was to be given publicity in America and Europe, and plans and estimates must be submitted by January 1, 1814 if the designer were in the country or May 1 if abroad. On December 30, 1813, the time limit was extended to April 15, and so it was May 2 before a decision was reached. At that time, the Board selected the design presented by Robert Mills, an architect of South Carolina, who had been studying with Benjamin H. Latrobe in Philadelphia.

The papers printed below trace in chronological sequence Mills' connection with the Washington Monument in Baltimore. Some of them are in the Maryland Historical Society, while copies of others have been supplied by Mr. Richard X. Evans, of Washington, D. C., a great-great-grandson of Mills and owner of an extensive collection of Mills letters.

I. THE DESIGNS.

The first paper is Mills' detailed plan for the monument, dated November 1813, and was probably written by the architect when he was preparing to enter the contest sponsored by the Board of Managers. It is contained in a slender, fifty-page blank book, which also includes several rough sketches and some calculations on the height and diameter of the various alternative columns shown. The most notable feature is the great care with which the detail of the decoration is described.

*Monument*³

To the memory of General Washington, to be erected in the city of Baltimore, of octagonal form from the base to the top—in height, magnitude and form to be according to the plan that may be selected from the number of six columns herewith presented.

To be constructed on the top a statue of exact likeness to the form & features of General Washington, mounted on horse back in the same military uniform, that he wore in the camp at the close of the revolutionary war. The steed to be of a color and form, that will represent his old charger, on which he was accustomed to ride in the army. The materials of the rider and horse, which are to be as large as life, to face the rising sun exactly, due East & to consist of pure brass. The interior part of the body of the monument to be composed of common granite or freestone and the whole of the exterior to be composed of white or light colored American marble, highly polished & hewed & shaped so as to form complete joints. From the base upwards to the first offset on the column eight feet, to be wrought at each angle the half of an octagonal pillar, cut diagonally nine inches diameter & both at the base and eight feet distant at the offset to be formed from angle to angle a cornice in the Tuscan order. (See Figure 1.) Or, if thought preferable, might be substituted for the foregoing, eight octagonal pillars, eight feet high & nine inches diameter, to be erected one at each angle of the column. On the tops of these pillars to be placed a cornice, consisting

³ In Maryland Historical Society collections.

of a marble slab eighteen inches in width and six inches in thickness, joining to and extending round the column. (See Figure 2.) The space or yard contiguous to the base of the column to be of diagonal $42\frac{2}{3}$ feet diameter, corresponding with the angles of the monument to be paved with blocks of party colored or variegated marble, hewn and polished on the upper surface. At the eight angles to be placed eight white marble posts about six feet in height, the tops of which to be formed into virgin heads and bosoms—their countenances to be highly finished and turned towards the spectators, displaying features, formed and proportioned on a modal of exquisite female beauty expressive of modesty & innocence.

All the posts to be made of white marble about nine inches diameter and of diagonal form. Between the angle or virgin posts to be placed simple posts about five feet in height—the railing to be of smooth iron bars varnished a jet black and to be fashioned according to fancy. On the East, West, North and South of the monument to be placed two gate posts with a gate. Over the gate way to be suspended an elegant arch, consisting of white marble, the two ends resting on the two posts of each gate, bearing over the centre of each gate on the front of the arch the arms of the United States. All round the yard, which incloses the monument, to be formed a gravel walk, eleven feet in width, surrounded by an open fence of wooden posts & railing, painted white with vacant spaces for entrance, opposite the gates. The whole fence to be of octagonal direction & parallel with the inner yard. At each angle post and in exact dissection with the virgin posts & angles of the column to be planted an ornamental shade tree. (See Figure 3.) On the monument in bass relief may be formed 4 courses of devices or emblems, each course to consist of eight groups of a description most aptly to represent the public character and important events, connected with the public transactions of General Washington from the commencement of the revolutionary war to the time of his death. All the devices to be emblematical of facts, which shall regularly succeed each other in the order of time, and to begin on the East side the monument, proceeding westwardly with the course of the sun in a horizontal direction round the column with a group on each of the eight squares.

The first course of the devices represents, The former colonial dependence and military achievements of the United States by which they acquired their national independence. The second, those public services of Washington, which are connected with the principal events, that transpired during his two presidencies. The third, shows divers cuts of Washington, while out of public office in his retirement at Mount vernon, since the revolutionary war, whereby he recognized & enforced by example important republican principles in projecting and carrying into effect divers extensive plans and institutions, useful to the community; and in the high duty of subordination to a free government, where a monarchy might have been substituted at his pleasure and the crown placed on his own head. Voluntarily retired from the highest public station in the gift of his government, to which he had been twice elevated by the unanimous choice of his countrymen he displayed in the unambitious walks of private life all the virtues of a private citizen. The fourth course of devices represents the happy effects of that independence & freedom, which were achieved and secured thru his skill, bravery and good management.

The first course represent the colonial dependence of the United States.

1 By 13 lams with a lion to watch them & by Dr. Franklin agent for the Colonies humbly presenting a petition in their behalf to his Britanic Majesty to repeal obnoxious acts of parliament.

2 Resistance to arbitrary measures of the British government.

By 3 ships in Boston harbour leaden with tea & men disguised as Indians in the act of throwing the tea over board.

3 Battle of Lexington when the first blood was shed in the revolutionary war by the British, who before being fired on, discharged their muskets at the Provincials and killed on the spot eight of the militia.

By the British commander on horse back in the attitude of pointing his sword at the militia—the regulars taking aim—8 Americans laying dead on the field & the militia retreating.

4 Washington appointed commander in chief.

By the president of Congress delivering to Washington a sword & a commission inscribed **COMMANDER IN CHIEF**—

5 The gloomy state & doubtful issue of American affairs in the fall of 1776. By the shabby starved looks of a few officers & soldiers retreating before the enemy.

6 Reverse of fortune, favorable to America, in the surrender of 900 Hessians at Trenton.

By the Hessian officers delivering their swords to the conqueror, while the captured privates were grounding their firelocks.

7 Surrender of Cornwallis—

By presenting his sword to Gen. Lincoln in presence of the Commander in chief, the prisoners grounding their firelocks.

8 Washington at the last meeting of his officers at the close of the war, taking leave of them.

By giving to an officer his right hand & holding a written address in his left, inscribed *Fellow Soldiers*—

2^d Course of Devices—

1 The languishment of commerce and the lack of public credit.

By a ship in the harbour stripped of her sails and cordage—Ship carpenters with their hands folded, idolling about, & soldiers in tattered uniform selling public securities to speculators.

2 Grand Federal Convention of the United States, with Washington for their president.

By the president standing up & holding in his hand the Constitution, inscribed *Constitution of the United States*, the members with their right hand up approving unanimously in a final vote.

3 Strong attachment & profound veneration to the first president elect on his way to the seat of government in New York, it being the first meeting of Congress under the new Constitution.

By the president on horse back, met on Trenton bridge by matrons in white, leading their daughters with baskets of flowers in their hands—and arch suspended over the bridge, on which is inscribed *The Defender of the mothers shall be the protector of the daughters*, over the

inscription a dome or cupola of flowers & ever greens, encircling the dates *December 26th 1776 & January 2^d 1777.*

4 Meeting of the first Congress under the new Constitution at the city of New York.

By the president with his speech in his hand, inclining forwards & addressing both houses of Congress.

5 Public credit supported & navigation and commerce flourishing.

By a ship on the stocks—the carpenters with their utensels laboring, another ship under full sail bound to sea.

6 A cabinet council, when the proclamation of neutrality was determined on.

By Hamilton & Jefferson in the attitude of arguing before the president.

7 The arts of civilized life imported to the savages.

By a public agent delivering to 3 Indian chiefs a plow, a hoe a sickle, a spinning wheel & a loom.

8 After the close of the second presidency, when the public, official services of president Washington terminated, his arrival at Mount vernon welcomed.

By Mr^s Washington with two gentlemen residing in her family, attended by two domestics, stepping out to receive the president from the carriage & bid him welcome.

3^d Course of devices

1 General Washington's principle of extending civil freedom to men of all descriptions.

By presenting with his own hand to a slave a written grant of manumission, inscribed FREEDOM.

2 His punctual performance of the minor, the essential public duties of a citizen in private life.

By presenting at the poll a written ballot for a representative (having once ridden for that purpose several miles in a stormy day).

3 By delivering into court as foreman of a traverse jury a virdict (he having been selected into the office of a juror by his own consent, after retiring from the second presidency).

4 His regard for the religion of his country & for religious institutions.

By a preacher in the pulpit with his bible & Washington in his pew with his psalm book in his hand.

5 His taste for rural labors.

By being placed in the midst of a group of his laborers in the field.

6 His zeal for public plans of extensive usefulness.

By surveying the face of the country with 2 or 3 associates, holding in one hand a surveyors compass & in the other a surveyors chain.

7 By his presence in a public school inspecting the mode by which a master instructs his scholars.

8 The establishment of the society of Cincinnati to perpetuate the remembrance of the revolutionary officers.

By copying the device of their medal and an officer with some remnants of an old uniform holding a plow.

4th Course of devices—

1 By the American eagle holding the declaration of Independence in his beak, on which is inscribed *Freedom & Independence*, and grasping in one talon a sword & in the other an olive branch.

2 Agriculture.

By a plow hitched to a pair of bullocks, a scythe, sickle, cart, a tobacco, a rice, a cotton plant & sheaf of wheat.

3 The fisheries.

By a fisherman pulling out of the water by hook and line & a codfish; & a whaleman aiming a harpoon at a whale.

4 The Mechanic Arts.

A broad ax, an augur, a chisel, blacksmith's hammer, an anvil & tongs—some ship carpenter tools—a work bench a square & compasses.

5 Manufactures.

Manufacturing tools, a spinning wheel—a loom & appearances of a fulling mill.

6 The Sciences.

Franklin conducting lightening from the clouds & Retinghouse inspecting an orrery.

7 Commerce & Navigation.

Neptune emerging from the ocean, grasping his trident in one hand and the declaration of Independence in the other.

8 National bravery & nautical skill.

Mars with all the emblems of war—a 44 gun frigate with her deck cleared for action bearing down upon the enemy.

The courses of devices may be formed round the column, beginning so far from the top as to be viewed distinctly and proceeding towards the base at proper distances from each other. And they may be wrought on such parts of the column as will render them most ornamental & intelligible.

Should the foregoing devices or emblems be thought too numerous and complex to ornament a monumental column one of the two following sets of devices consisting of four groups each, may be substituted. Each group of devices to be extended over two sides of the column—the angle being supposed obtuse enough to present like as a plain to the eye the devices of two sides or squares at once. In this manner four groups would surround the column, which groups I propose to place about half way between the base and top.

1 The bravery, vigor & innocence of national Infancy represented By Hercules in cradle, strangling a serpent, which came to molest him & thirteen lambs with a lion to watch and protect them.

2 The spirit of the nation in manhood displayed in understanding and asserting her rights.

By a large eagle holding in her beek the constitution of the United States, inscribed FREE & INDEPENDENT, reposing firmly one foot on the alter of Freedom & pressing the other on the paw of a lion rampant.

3 The effects of national Independence & freedom, displayed by the various fruits of industry, in agriculture, commerce, the mechanic arts & sciences.

By a sheep, a plow hitched to a pair of bullocks, a sheef of wheat, a rice, cotton & tobacco plant—a pine tree, a whale—a codfish—one ship discharging import & another under full sail, bound to sea—a broadax—a square & pair compasses—a spinning wheel & a loom.

4 A state of peace the best policy of the nation.

By a lamb standing over a wolf, while reposing on the ground, asleep and reposing by the side of a kid & a calf by a young lion, round the neck of which a little child extends his arms—a cow and a bear feeding side by side and the calf & cub laying down together.

Or, the following might be substituted for the last four mentioned groups.

1 Mars delivering to Washington a sword & instructing him in the art of war.

2 The goddess of Liberty directing him to the temple of Freedom, which is supported by thirteen pillars.

3 Minerva inspiring him with wisdom & enterprise & instructing him in the arts of civil polity.

4 The effects of Washington's patriotism & public services displayed. By the goddess Ceres with her lap covered with a cornucopia.

The simple historical facts or events represented by the respective emblems or devices above, may on the same side of the monument down near the base be inscribed with their exact dates. And to facilitate the explanation of the several groups, they might be each numbered the same as the description of events they are intended to represent. The designer and the artist may select from the various devices I have presented such as may be deemed most appropriate. Or from the same devices, or such others as he may himself conceive, or design, may form such new groups or combinations as can with the most facility, be laid out & executed in the work. Men, animals and other small objects may be drawn on a scale of 3 or 4 inches to the foot. Objects of great magnitude, such as ships must be diminished to a convenient size, that will not bear a proportion with other objects. If, to save expense or for any other purpose it should seem most proper, all devices and inscriptions may be omitted.

On the space or side of the monument opposite the Eastern gate, between the pavement & first offsets, General Washington's exact likeness may be formed in bass relief under which might be inscribed the following

To the Memory
of
George Washington
Commander in chief of the American Army
During the revolutionary war
First president of the United States
Under the new Constitution
He was born 22^d Feb. 1732—
He died 14th Decr. 1799—
This monument was erected
As a voluntary tribute
Of respect and veneration
Due to his exalted merit
By his fellow countrymen
May 1814—

Under this inscription might be placed an elegant urn, encircled by two sprigs of cypress with the figure of Liberty, inclining over the urn in a mournful posture.

From the several plans for a monument herewith presented the board of managers can adopt the one most agreeable to their fancy, in erecting which an expence will not be incurred exceeding the fund proposed. I have endeavored to impart to the intended monument a figure & a color, which according to the most approved authors on taste is conformable to the qualities of beauty and elegance; which qualities may be reduced to the following—comparatively small—smooth—variety in the direction of the parts—not of a clumsy or heavy figure by too much thickness for the height or length—but rather of a slender, airy form—no angles but such as are obtuse, or nearly approaching a circular curve, a weak white or light color.—

The devices are intended to present in a birds eye view an emblematical history of Washington's public life; or in other words, the most important events in the most important era of the history of the United States for 25 years in a manner that would best display the extraordinary character of the principal actor in the drama. But a simple column without any devices or inscriptions may be erected, if such as have been suggested should seem too numerous, complex, expensive, unappropriate, or inexpedient.

Reflections.

On a design for a monument of Washington.

A monument is designed for the commemoration of some great event, or for a remembrance of a public character, who has been distinguished by performing great & good actions for his country. It being a strong & permanent testimony of public approbation, its general design, particular devices & inscriptions should be simple, expressive and significant, that they might bring home to the immediate recollection of a spectator the events & the virtues it was intended to commemorate. The form or figure should be such as to combine all the qualities which would render it a most beautiful object. The materials should be solid durable and rare; and the workmanship executed with the most exquisite taste and skill that the monument might exhibit the best specimen of the fine arts for the age and country in which it was created; and that all who approached it might feel the power

of the artist in exciting the love of country and the love of virtue. The monument of Washington being intended to preserve the remembrance and to honor the character of one of the greatest & best men that this or any other country has produced, will show to after ages, that the great republic, whose foundation he laid and whose prosperity he effected, has not been ungrateful to his memory. By celebrating the virtues of a man, who formed a most extraordinary assemblage of moral & intellectual endowments, that rested not in mere abstract speculation, but shown out in the most uniform exemplary deportment, active zeal & uncommon performances, embracing the various & complicated interests of society—by celebrating the virtues of such a man, I say, we exite that virtuous emulation, which is the firmest support of a republic Washington was, perhaps, as perfect a model of human excellence in the agrigate as has appeared among men since the Savior of the world. Testimonials of honor from his countrymen will never make virtuous praise cheap. So rare are such objects of eulogy, that applause will not depreciate by being profusely lavished. Commendations bestowed on him are not the effect of cold formal parade, dictated partly by a love for false grandeur & partly by the passion of servile fear. They are the sincere spontaneous effusions of a heart, penetrated with a sense of his preeminent worth & moved from its own voluntary impulse to make a free will offering.

The man of business, the statesman, the patriot, the warrior, while surveying the monument of Washington, will feel a purer flame inspire his bosom, than does a pilgrim of Mecca, while worshipping at the tomb of Mahomet. The monumental honors of Washington will excite in the minds of ingenious youth an ambition to deserve by great achievements that fame, which is sanctioned by the purest virtue & can be obtained only by a series of arduous & unwearied labors. If the poets & the painters, the historians and the artists have bestowed their best skill & most diligent labors to extend and perpetuate the fame of tyrants, who have in overcoming the countries, subjected to their sway, taken life from the one half of the people, that they might deprive the other half of their civil freedom, what honors should be conferred on the man, who has always aimed to prevent the effusion of human blood by attempting to preserve peace & to dignify the speldor of victory by mitigating as much as possible the unavoidable calamities of war? If all the fine arts have been put in requisition by chringing courtiers & dependents to immortal ire an Alexander the Great, a Charles XII or a Bonaparte, what sacrifice of wealth, what human efforts in skill & labor ought republican America to consider too great in rearing a monument to her Washington? The foundation of their fame consists in multiplying human miseries by depriving whole nations of life or liberty, that of his in multiplying the means of human happiness, & inwresting from servile, colonial dependence a brave people, animated with the love of freedom & restoring them to that liberty they aspired to & to that political independence, of which their valor, their intelligence & their patriotism had rendered them worthy. The heroes of ancient & modern story have sought fame by the most formidable display of their power—he by rendering his power subservient to his virtue. Their means of renown were commensurate with their power to lay waste & to excite terror, his were restricted by the most severe councils of an enlightened conscience. They labored to acquire—he to deserve glory.—

(Nov^r. 1813.)

The second paper is Mills' letter of transmittal which accompanied his entry in the contest for the design. He takes advantage of this rather informal communication to tell something of his own training and experience. He was now aged 33.

Philadelphia January 12th 1814 ⁴

The Honorable

The Board of Managers of the Washington }
Monument. Baltimore }

Gentlemen,

Through your indulgence in granting me a little time beyond the period fixed upon in your advertisement, for designs for the Monument you purpose to erect to commemorate the inestimable virtues and glorious deeds of the immortal Washington, I have now the honor of submitting to your consideration the result of my labors towards accomplishing the Wishes of your honorable board—Accompanying this letter you will find a book of designs with a description of the Monument and a large Drawing exhibiting one of the principal fronts in geometrical elevation—The whole of the drawings are projected upon geometrical principals, as being best calculated to convey a correct view of the proportions and Character of the mass, in order to judge of the practicability of the structure; This mode of exhibiting a building where it is wished to produce an effect of beauty exciting Interest, falls much short of that for which the aid of perspective is called in; Perhaps I may have the pleasure of exhibiting to you a picturesque view of my design which will place it in a point of sight more to its advantage should its general principles meet your approbation : It would afford me much satisfaction if what I have done should merit your partiality. Being an American by Birth and having also the honor of being the first American who has passed through a regular course of Study of Architecture in his own Country, it is natural for me to feel much Solicitude to aspire to the honor of raising a Monument to the memory of our illustrious Countryman. The Education I have received being altogether American and unmixed with European habits, I can safely present the design submitted as American founded upon those general principles prefaced in the description contained in the Book of Designs. For the honor of our Country, my sincere wish is that it may not be said; To foreign Genius and to foreign hands we are indebted for a Monument to perpetuate the Glory of our beloved Chief. Owing to some particular engagements the past year I have been unable to do that Justice to the Subject of this Monument which it was my earnest wish to accomplish: The general principle or Outline of the Design however I have had long under Consideration, and on comparing it with many others that suggested themselves, I feel a confidence in recommending it to your favor, particularly as from its simplicity of Character and with proper attention to the Detail of decoration its Execution may be brought within the scope of One hundred thousand dollars—On the subject of these decorations I would observe as they are secondary in their Objects, time and consideration may enable me to improve their appropriate Character should I be gratified with your Confidence; with this I may be able here after to suggest many Ideas

⁴ From the Society's collections.

which may be found interesting—As I have dwelt so long on this subject permit me Gentlemen to solicit your Indulgence yet a little further: As I have not the pleasure of being known to you, allow me the liberty of laying before you some information relative to my professional Capacity that in the Event of your Opinion being favorable to my wishes I may take the opportunity of recommending to you my further Services in carrying your Design into execution—The letters of introduction with which some of my friends have obligingly furnished me, though they speak much more in my favor than I can offer, yet I would beg leave to refer you to them for the information I would communicate. What further explanation or information I can give relative to my design I shall be happy to lay before you.

With every desire of being useful and wishing you every success to your laudable exertions to do Justice to the virtues of so great and exalted a Character as our Washington I salute you Gentlemen with respect—

Rob^t. Mills.
of S^c Carolina
Architect Ph^a

The third paper is Mills' formal statement of his plan, much underlined for emphasis. It is written in a bound volume, and is followed by seven sheets of drawings of the proposed monument. There are colored sketches of the principal fronts, the "second fronts," a section through the center, the plan of the great capital, the plan half way up the column, the plan at the top, and two plans at the base.

Gentlemen ⁵

In laying the designs herewith submitted, before you, I would beg leave to make a few remarks upon *Monuments* in general, before I proceed to describe the one I have the honor now to present.

The *character* that ought to designate all *Monuments* should be, solidity, simplicity, and that degree of cheerfulness which should tempt the contemplation of the mind, and not occasion it to turn away in gloom or disgust; A Monument intended to perpetuate the Virtues of the deceased, should particularly carry with it, an air of cheerful gravity; & We, who live under the light of the Christian revelation, should be cautious, to avoid, as much the frivolity of Heathen superstition, as the gloom of Egyptian darkness. The Monument which now claims our Attention, is intended to be erected, not only to hand down to posterity, the *Virtues of a Man*, but the *glory of a Hero*; it therefore should combine two characters in its design, the *Sarcophagic* and *Military*. *Monuments isolated*, or in the open air, should be *towering*, and commanding in their elevation, especially when they are encircled by a City, otherwise its *popular* intention is frustrated. A *Triumphal* monument having much to record of *historical* fact, should present to the sculptor as much surface as its extent of design will admit of, and as *inscriptions* contain within themselves much of *enrichment*, but few of *emblematic* or hieroglyphic decorations are required. On the subject of decoration in general, I would beg leave to observe, that it has ever been

⁵ From the Society's collections.

my study to make these subservient, or secondary, to the main design, and whenever introduced, that they should carry the mark of utility on their face, as well as possess a character of reference to the subject they would represent. I shall not take up your time by entering into an examination or Description of the designs of ancient or modern monuments, or attempt to draw any comparison between them and the one I have the honor now to submit to your consideration, because this can answer no good end at present; Your own information on the subject, can supply what ideas may be necessary, in determining, whether *this* design does not possess some originality, and whether this originality has sufficient merit to recommend it to the honor to which it aspires—Permit me now to draw your attention to the *description* of the design in question;—The *Mass*, presents the appearance of a *Greek Column*, elevated on a grand *pedestal*; the column assumes the *doric* proportions, which possess solidity, and simplicity of character, emblematic of that of the illustrious *personage* to whose memory it is dedicated, and harmonising with the spirit of our Government; The *pedestal* of this column is a *square mass*, broken on each *front* by projecting *wings*;—the *main fronts* are supported by a screen of *doric columns*, through the center of which, a grand *archway* is pierced; The number of *Voussoirs* comprising this *Voussure*, correspond with the number of *States* in the Union, each State being designated by a *Star* encircled by a *Coronna Triumphalis*; On the *key voussoir* or *Key Stone* the *Arms* of the *United States* are represented in *Basso relievo*. The *Ornaments* enriching these fronts are the following; Central, The name of the illustrious *WASHINGTON*, in *Roman Characters* on a broad *Frieze*; The *Wing* buildings are surmounted with *Trophies of Victory*.* On the face of the wing buildings are sculptured, the *Arms of Maryland & Virginia* encircled by appropriate *Wreaths*, on each side of which is represented an inverted *torch*, with a *Star* below (*Sarcophagic emblems*); Under the *Insignia of Maryland* are inscribed, words to the following effect: "The gratitude of Maryland bids this public testimony rise to commemorate her love, to her political Father and Benefactor, Washington." Under the *Insignia of Virginia* are inscribed, words to the following effect "Virginia gave our Hero Birth,—Virginia saw our Hero die."—The *secondary fronts* present a grand flight of *Steps* which lead up to a *Colonnade* through which you pass into the Monument and by an inner flight of *Steps* ascend to the grand platform: Over the wing buildings the *Trophies of Victory* are seen in profile—Over the *Arch of Entrance* under the *Colonnade* the name of *WASHINGTON* is again inscribed, and on the faces of the wing buildings are sculptured similar insignia and inscriptions to those on the front: The whole of *this Mass*, occupies an extent on the plan, of 65 ft. by 50 ft. and an elevation of 20 feet independent of the *Trophies of Victory*.

Arrived at the *platform* which crowns this *pedestal*, and which is inclosed by a *balustrade*, we see the commencement of the *great Column*, The diameter of this is more than 20 feet and its elevation above 120 ft. divided in its height by Six iron railed *galleries*, which encircle it like bands, presenting *promenades* to accommodate the reading of those *historical* inscriptions recorded on the shaft of the *column*. The number of *Compartments* on the

* (In place of the military *Trophies* Statues of 4 of our most distinguished Generals may be placed, or emblematic statues representing the Unity of the people, the gratitude of Maryland, the Genius of America &c.)

shaft, answer to the eventful years of our *revolution*: The record begins with the memorable year 1776, and is brought down to the period of the surrender of Lord *Cornwallis* at York in 1781. The records subsequent to this, are inscribed upon the *base* of the Column; Those preceeding the great commencing period find a place at the top—

The *plan* of *inscription* that suggests itself for our adoption seems to be the following; to record the *main historical facts* connected with our *Revolution*, for these are so closely interwoven with the Life of our *national Father*, that a brief statement of these, under the different years they occurred, would present the *best view* to posterity of the Greatness, Excellence & Wisdom of that Man whose memory with blessings shall live through every age, & whose every word merits to be recorded in characters of Light: Another circumstance connects itself with the adoption of *this plan*, which is peculiarly interesting; That of enrolling the *names* & recounting the *services* of those illustrious *Men* who were his *Compatriots* in Arms & whom he delighted to honor: The names of these great men come in so necessarily when recording those battles &c in which the wisdom and valor of their Chief were manifest, that a few words will speak *here* what would require a Volume *elsewhere*. When will an opportunity so honorable to Maryland again occur, & at an Expence so trivial, to do justice to the Memories of men to whose exertions & sacrifices we owe so much? On an examination of the drawing you will find the general outline of the method of arranging this plan of Inscription: On the lower Compartment of the Column and under the Year 1781. is a representation of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at York, in Basso Relievo: In this place I would beg leave to remark that there is another event in the Life of Washington that presents a noble Subject for Sculpture and which exhibits the character of that Great Man in a point of view strikingly grand; I allude to the *period* when Congress was in Session at *Annapolis* in Maryland, when amid a crowd of Spectators we beheld him *resigning* his Sword & Commission as Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States, into the hands of The *President of Congress*; As this interesting Scene took place in Maryland and as *Maryland* first erects a public Testimony of her Gratitude to the *Hero*, it may present itself as a subject for Consideration (should the designs which I have the honor of laying before you meet, your favorable indulgence & approbation) whether *Maryland* does not claim *this subject* for special Record in preference to the other,—provided only One can be executed—The Chapters of historical Events, inscribed upon the Shaft of the great Column, are separated by military & Sarcophagic emblems; The years in which the events take place stand at the head of the Chapters encircled by military wreaths, The circular Space which these occupy form apertures which light the interior of the monument. The enrichments of the Echinus (or grand moulding of the Capital of the Column) are constituted of these words, "George Washington the Father of his Country." These are cast in Brass & Iron as well as the entire Capital with its decorations—This great Column is surmounted by a *Quadriga* or Chariot of Victory in which is represented the immortal *Washington* in military Costume guided by *Victory*. It will be unnecessary here to enter into any detail of description of this commanding Groupe, the drawing being sufficient to point out its general effect and appropriate Character. The whole Mass is proposed to be cast in Brass together with the Zocle or platform upon which it rests: The Object in making the body of the Zocle

hollow is for the purpose of producing the Effect now to be described: The *interior* structure of this monument presents a *double* wall, between which ascend the *steps* that communicate with all the galleries & the top of the Column; this mode of Construction produces the effect in strength, of a thickness of Wall equal to the section of both the Walls & Steps; The Space occupied by the Walls & Steps being not equal to the diameter of the great Column, leaves a Circular space in the *Center* of the Monument which opens a *view* from the *Base* to the *Apex* of the Column; This aperture descends and intersects the *Vault* of the great *arch-way*, pierced through the fronts of the grand pedestal, by which you command an *interior view* from the pavement of the *Street* to the *Zocle* of the Quadriga, a height of at least 140 feet; The Eye in directing its view along this dim and elongated *Vault*, is immediately arrested by a brilliant *light* that terminates its length, This effect is the result of opening the sides of the *Zocle* of the Quadriga mentioned above and it will prove an object as novel as curious—The Material proposed to be used in the Construction of this Monument is Marble; Its superiority, strength, beauty and durability, recommend it above every other to our Notice, the abundance of it in the vicinity of *Baltimore*, gives every advantage in obtaining it and that upon reasonable grounds of cost. It will be unnecessary to enter into an Explanation of the plans contained in the book of designs as what is written upon them will suffice to point out their local references, and as it will occupy too much of your time and serve no good purpose *now* to enter into the detail of construction, I shall close my observations after expressing *the* wish, as an American, that the design I have now the pleasure of submitting to you may be found worthy of that attention, which shall entitle me to the high honor, of contributing my mite to exhibit to admiring Ages, yet unborn, the glorious deeds of the Hero and Statesman, the exalted worth of the Father of our Country, The IMMORTAL WASHINGTON.

With sentiments of respect

Gentlemen

I salute you

Robt. Mills

Arch^t. Philadelphia

The honorable

The board of Managers

of Washington Monument

Baltimore.

The next two letters were written by Mills to follow up his original presentation to the Board of Managers. It is quite possible that the second one, undated and unsigned, was a partial draft of the first.

Philadelphia April 6th 1814 *

Dear Sir

Permit me to encroach on your goodness in asking the favor of you to lay this letter before the Board of Managers of the Washington Monument, with a drawing which I have this day forwarded (in a box) pr. the Union line of packets directed to Eli Simkins Esq^r. Baltimore.

* From the Society's collections.

In my former communication to the Board I anticipated that perhaps I might be able before the final decision of the question of the design was made to transmit them a *Perspective view*, of the Monument I had the honor of laying before them. This I have now accomplished, and in the box addressed to Mr. Simkins you will find this view, which though not highly or nearly finished will give such a general idea of the Character and Mass of the building which a simple geometrical view never is capable of presenting.—I must apologise, if the scenery in the back ground is not altogether correct; the hasty sketch I made of it while in Baltimore, and perhaps some liberties taken to produce what painters call effect, may justify or excuse the errors.

On the ground of *cost* I would repeat what I have already observed, that the nature of the design I have submitted admits of any extension or retraction of expenditures which the circumstances or the views of the Board may demand.—If the *principle* of the design is approved of, there will be no difficulty in suiting its cost to any appropriations that may be thought expedient.—

On a review of the design in regard to its execution (should it ever receive this honor) I would recommend that the Grand Pedestal or Base of the Monument be executed of *Granite*, except the Basso-relievos which should be Marble—Its character as well as effect will be more striking considered as the grand Zocle of a Marble or Free Stone superstructure of great elevation.—The Great Column may be of free stone embossed with Marble,—if it is thought expedient to use this stone as being the product of the native state of our illustrious Washington.—

If it were practicable I would recommend that you procure some of the *real* cannon &c. taken by Genl. Washington particularly those or part of those taken at York; for the purpose of placing among the trophies or emblems of victory displayed over the pedestal wings. An addition of this kind would speak more than volumes to the popular mind, and they would be contemplated with double interest by posterity—

I will not take up more of the attention of the Board by further remarks, but draw to a close, after expressing my thanks for your kind attentions, and my respectful salutations to the Gentlemen your Colleagues,—

I have the honor Sir
to be yours &c

Robert Gilmore Esqr
Baltimore

Robt. Mills

[Mills to Gilmore?] ⁷

Dear Sir

Thro' your indulgence I will take the liberty of adding a few general remarks to those which I had the honor of laying before the Board of Managers of the W. M. when I submitted my design. As I stated in that communication I have accomplished a drawing exhibiting the design I proposed in a perspective view which will give a better idea of its massiveness &

⁷ From the collection of Mr. Richard X. Evans.

character of outline than a geometrical view is capable of. This drawing I have this day put on board the Union line of packets by Newcastle & Frenchtown to Baltimore directed to Eli Simkins, Esq^r Baltimore, of which I would request the favor of you to give him notice. Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, several ideas of designs of the Monument have pass'd in review before my mind, but for simplicity, and every requisite which the subject or your wishes demand I felt satisfied with none in comparison to the one submitted. In this design such is its character of construction that less or more than the appropriation made can accomplish its execution and yet preserve its great features unimpaired.

The following letters were addressed to Mills the day the Board accepted his design. Robert Gilmore's friendly note indicates that Mills' teacher, Benjamin Latrobe, may have been one of his competitors, and the minutes of the Board show that Maximilian Godefroy did submit a plan. This would account for Latrobe's bitterly critical comment to Godefroy on Mills' scheme.⁸

Baltimore 2^d May 1814⁹

Sir,

At a meeting of the Managers of the Washington Monument this day, agreeably to notice, to award the premium for the best design of a monument, the one furnished by you received the approbation of the board, & we as members of the corresponding committee are directed to communicate this information, & that your dft on Mr. Eli Simkins, their Secretary for five hundred dollars (being the amount of the premium) will be paid at sight.

Agreeably to the terms of the public notice, should you have committed to you the execution of your plan, the amount of the premium will be deducted from your Commission or contract, as the adoption of your design is presumed to be a sufficient compensation for what you have already done.

Your mo. ob. s

R. Mills, Esq.

Isaac M'Kim

Baltimore 2^d May 1814¹⁰

My dear Sir

I beg leave to congratulate you on your design having received the suffrage of the board of Managers this day of which I have just written you *officially* with my Colleague Mr. M'Kim. It is gratifying to me that a native

⁸ "Mills is a wretched designer. He came to me too late to acquire principals of taste. He is a copyist, and is fit for nothing else," and more in this strain. See Carolina V. Davison, "Maximilian Godefroy," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIX: 209 (1934).

⁹ From the Evans collection.

¹⁰ Evans collection. Published in part in Mrs. H. M. P. Gallagher, *Robert Mills*. New York, 1935, p. 107.

American artist should have borne the palm away from foreigners whose designs certainly did them great credit. I have a strong suspicion one very handsome pyramid with a grand portico was from the pencil of Mr. Latrobe, but we do not positively know it. Your plan was very generally approved of but some doubts existed in the minds of some of the managers who live on the square where it is to be erected, and which it is most desirable you should remove, as they may carry their doubt & fears into the neighborhood. [& prevent?] the erection of it altogether. They are afraid it will be liable to being overturned by some shock, owing to its great elevation. The nature of the foundation which is sandy, the expense also is dreaded as requiring a sum far beyond what our finances can afford. I wish you to write me fully on both these heads, and if you can furnish a tolerably correct estimate of the cost of the masonry first excluding all ornament of sculpture & bronze, except on the basement or side, you will enable me to overcome some prejudices. Marble would be better than freestone for the casing of the column but we fear the expense. If you had it in your power to contract for its execution, it would be liked. Should your arrangement in Philad^a in the course of a week or two allow you to come to Baltimore, it might be not to your disadvantage.

I am very sincerely

Yours R. Gilmor Jr.

(To be continued.)

JEB STUART IN MARYLAND, JUNE, 1863 *

By GEORGE C. KEIDEL

KEYNOTE: "It was commenced in the absence of correct intelligence."—R. E. LEE, 15 April, 1868.

Soon after the opening of the Gettysburg campaign in June, 1863, Major-General J. E. B. Stuart, in supreme command of the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia, received orders from General Robert E. Lee to proceed into Maryland and Pennsylvania in person with three brigades of cavalry and to act as cavalry escort on the right flank of General Ewell, who was leading the Confederate advance to York and the Susquehanna River. This was the post of honor and danger nearest to the enemy represented especially by the Army of the Potomac under General Joseph Hooker, but also next to the troops of the Middle Department commanded by General Robert C. Schenck with headquarters at Baltimore and charged above all with the guarding of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. With both of these commands Jeb Stuart was soon to come into armed conflict.

Finding his way blocked in Virginia on June 25 by the Army of the Potomac, then on the march northward, Jeb Stuart made a forced march by the rear flank of the enemy, and passing through Dranesville, Va., he crossed the Potomac at Rowser's Ford a short distance south of Seneca. The crossing was made without mishap on a foggy night, June 27-28, in the face of great difficulties, and about four thousand Confederate cavalry stood on Maryland soil with a few pieces of light horse artillery, two ambulances—but no supply train.

After resting men and horses for some hours on various Montgomery County farms, the Confederates advanced to Rockville, it then being Sunday morning, June 28. About noon that day they captured a Federal army train proceeding from the outskirts of Washington towards Frederick, then the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, which had just been placed under General George G. Meade. This capture proved in the end to be a misfortune.

At Rockville the Confederate force was divided, one brigade proceeding on the left flank nearest the enemy towards Sykesville, and two brigades with the long captured baggage train and some four hundred prisoners recently picked up proceeding under Jeb Stuart himself on the right flank to Brookeville.

* Copyright 1939 by George C. Keidel.

Here during the night of June 28-29 Jeb Stuart paroled a large number of prisoners while occupying the Presbyterian manse of the village. Mounting his horse again at 1 A. M. on June 29, he headed towards Westminster—and promptly fell asleep on his steed, while the long caravan with him slowly wended its way northward. At daybreak he passed through Cooksville on the turnpike leading westward from Baltimore to Frederick, and thus passed out of the extended suburban district near Washington, which city had been alarmed by various rumors of cavalry raids.

By this time, the morning of June 29, General Meade at Frederick had been informed by telegraph from army headquarters in Washington that Confederate cavalry was roving about in Montgomery County, to which he had replied that he was too busy to bother with them; and General Schenck at Baltimore had been told that Confederate cavalry was threatening both branches of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, to which he responded by sending all available troops to the Relay House ten miles out. And then all the telegraph wires to Frederick were cut by the Confederates, and no messages could get through.

Meanwhile Jeb Stuart and his men, horses and mules were slowly advancing northward through Howard County, where they were in the Baltimore sphere of influence. Men and horses were fast becoming exhausted, and frequent stops were made to graze the horses and mules in fields along the route which were then full of hay, wheat and young corn. The men got what food they could, and eagerly took all the horses they could find while leaving their worn-out steeds behind them. The pace slowed down from forty to twenty-five miles a day!

Early on the morning of June 29 the Confederate advance on the left flank seized the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Sykesville, and a few hours later Jeb Stuart with the other two brigades and the train crossed the same railroad at Hood's Mill a few miles to the east. All railroad traffic between Baltimore and Frederick ceased for nearly twenty-four hours while the cavalry was passing. The railroad officials quickly transmitted this intelligence to Baltimore; but soon afterward the railroad was repaired and traffic to Frederick was resumed on June 30.

In the early afternoon of June 29 a Westminster physician, while visiting patients living south of that town, came upon the advance guard of the Confederates who had halted on the Washington Road and were grazing their animals in the fields nearby. The physician drove back to town and gave the alarm, which was not taken seriously

by the major (N. B. Knight) of the Federal cavalry squadron that had recently ridden up from Baltimore and was encamped on a hill north of the town itself. He had no idea of the large cavalry force that was approaching from the direction of Washington afar off. So he refused to be disturbed at the inn where he had settled himself, and merely sent word to a subordinate officer to attend to the report.

Ninety men of a Delaware cavalry regiment mounted, and as the Confederate advance reached the centre of the town and were heading towards Gettysburg charged down the hill into the enemy's flank. In the brief but spirited struggle that ensued most of the Federal cavalry were either killed or captured. The major and the remaining cavalymen under his scattered command mounted their horses and fled at top speed down the Baltimore Pike. They were followed at a little distance by a squad of Confederates on their tired horses for about six miles.

But the fleeing major and his men did not stop until they met some other Federal cavalymen at Reisterstown, about ten miles from Westminster. These fresh troops made a reconnaissance back towards Westminster; but the fleeing major himself did not stop until at nightfall he had reached the arsenal at Pikesville, some twenty miles from where he had started. His alarmist rumor stirred General Schenck at his Baltimore headquarters, the home guards were called out and manned the fortifications during the night, while stringent orders were issued to the civilian population! But no Confederates appeared within fifteen miles of the city.

When Major-General J. E. B. Stuart reached Westminster in person all was quiet. He dismounted and engaged in conversation with some school-girls, one of whom he kissed, calling her his "little prisoner," as she herself related a few years ago in her old age.

His men busied themselves with the captured government stores, as Westminster was a base of supplies. They were up almost all night feeding man and beast, who for the first time in days had a bountiful supply of food (at the enemy's expense). Meanwhile the advance guard of the Confederates pushed on to Union Mills near the Mason and Dixon Line, one of the brigade commanders, Fitzhugh Lee, sleeping in an orchard, as reported to the author in recent years.

Meanwhile the Army of the Potomac was advancing on Westminster from the direction of Frederick, and the last Confederate had scarcely left the town early on the morning of June 30, when

Gregg's Federal cavalry began pouring through the place, soon to be followed by a whole army corps. Jeb Stuart had barely been able to cross their line of march ahead of them!

On the morning of June 30 the entire Confederate cavalry force passed into Pennsylvania, and Maryland knew them no more until after the Battle of Gettysburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. For General Lee's statement see *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. VII, 1879, pp. 445-446.
2. For definitive life of General Lee see Douglas Southall Freeman (Vol. 3 on Gettysburg campaign).
3. For biographies of Jeb Stuart see H. B. McClellan and John W. Thomason, Jr. (latter has copy of Jeb Stuart's orders).
4. For the capture of the wagon train see Silas Crounse, "A Bold Rebel Raid," *New York Times*, June 30, 1863, p. 1, cols. 3-4.
5. For the street fight in Westminster see William Shepard Crouse, "Confederate Troops in Westminster," *Baltimore Sun*, Feb. 23, 1930, sec. 2, p. 8, cols. 1-3 (with portrait of Stuart).
6. For excitement in Baltimore see *Sun*, July 1, 1863, and *American*, July 1, 1863.

LOGS AND PAPERS OF BALTIMORE PRIVATEERS, 1812-15

By WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

That Baltimore sent out more privateers during the War of 1812 than any other American port has long been an established fact.¹ The outstanding events in the careers of some of these vessels have been sketched in various places, and the mere reading of the data shows that the private armed schooners from Baltimore did their full share of damage to British shipping. It is particularly interesting, therefore, to examine more closely the journals and log-books kept on the individual cruises—papers reposing among the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. There is something stirring about the thought that these very pages were written on the high seas, and they afford intimate glimpses of life aboard the privateers such as no second-hand accounts can give.

In these documents, we see the preparations for the voyages, the gathering of the crews, and the actual departures down the Bay. We sail over the waves and experience gales and calms, and we hear the rattling of the ropes as the ships tack in chase of strange sails. We observe the captains as they discipline their men, take rich prizes, and fight enemy fleets. We follow them as they weave in and out of difficult situations, and we visit foreign ports and meet strange people. Especially do we get a wonderful picture of the broad sweep of world trade, the great variety of vessels travelling the seas with all sorts of cargoes.

The journals themselves present a mixed picture. Some were kept in log books provided for the purpose, while others were scribbled in any blank leaflets available. Some were kept with meticulous care and include an endless number of details as to winds, courses, and movements of sail, while others are jotted down hurriedly with only occasional mention of physical conditions. Some are written by men of obvious training and have distinct literary flavor, while others show equally obvious lack of education; and one is not in the handwriting of the captain at all, because he signed

¹ The actual figures were: Baltimore 58, New York 55, Salem 40, Boston 32, Philadelphia 14, Portsmouth 11, Charleston 10, etc. They are quoted in George Coggeshall's *History of American Privateers and Letters-of-Marque, during our War with England in the Years 1812, '13 and '14*, New York, 1856, p. 422. Mr. John Philips Cranwell, who has made a study of shipping in Baltimore during the period, states that there were at least 117 private armed vessels sailing from Baltimore or owned by Baltimoreans. Many, like the *Rolla* and *Decatur*, whose cruises are described below, operated out of other ports because of the blockade around the mouth of the Chesapeake.

the statement as to the accuracy of the journal with his mark. Altogether, they give an amazing cross-sectional view of privateering activity in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

1. "Log of Schooner *Wasp*, 1812," James Taylor, master, on a cruise, July 14th-November 19th 1812.

The record was kept in a blank book ruled and printed with suitable headings: *The Seaman's Journal*, published by W. Spotswood. It pays almost no attention to details of speed, wind, or course, and sets down without elaboration the events of the voyage as they occurred.

The *Wasp* sailed from Baltimore and spent two weeks boarding vessels moving along the coast. On August 5th she captured the Swedish Ship *Continence* and, upon finding British papers, took her to Charleston for sale. She then headed for the West Indies and made two prizes, the British Schooner *Sir Eyre Coote*, ransomed, and the British Schooner *Dawson*, sent to an American port with her cargo of sugar, rum, and coffee. An unpleasant encounter with the guns of a Spanish fort at Trinidad in Cuba made repairs to the foremast necessary, after which the *Wasp* met gales of hurricane force and lost all masts, sails, and rigging. Baffling calms followed the storm and rations ran low, so the ship turned homewards, reaching Baltimore with the pumps working to offset a serious leak. The cruise was not very successful, for few prizes were taken and the *Wasp* herself returned to port much the worse for wear.

2. "Log of Schooner *Bona*, 1812," John Dameron, master, on two cruises, July 20th-September 9th, September 29th-December 20th 1812.

The *Bona* is the only privateer in this group for which the narratives of two separate voyages are preserved. The records are entered in a regular book for the purpose: *Journal of a Voyage*, published in New York in 1810 and sold by Edmund M. Blunt "At his Navigation Store, Sign of the Quadrant, No. 202, Water-Street, corner of Beekman-Slip." Great care is taken with the details, and from them it is possible to observe that the vessel averaged around five knots. The captain's handwriting is very poor, and there are many instances of bad spelling.

The *Bona* sailed from Baltimore and boarded many friendly merchantmen carrying molasses, rum, flour, etc., but did not sight a single enemy vessel. Much time was consumed in practicing the guns, trimming the ship, and working the sails as if in action.

There were slight troubles with members of the crew, and the ship returned to port after only six weeks at sea. The second cruise began with gales and rough seas, and the weather was so cold that the crew fell ill and became mutinous. A course to the south was set and the people recovered their health in the warmer climate, but still no prizes were taken. A packet surrendered twenty bags of mail which proved to contain nothing of value, and a brig suspected of being British property was found to have perfectly regular American papers. Finally, a small schooner was captured and manned for the United States, only to be recaptured enroute. The *Bona* returned to Baltimore five days before Christmas, notably unsuccessful in her efforts to harm enemy shipping.

3. "A Journal of a Cruise in the private armed Schooner *America* Commencing July 23rd 1812, By Jo. Richardson Commander—," July 23rd-November 26th 1812.

The journal of the *America* is the most interesting and the best written of all these privateer narratives. Indeed, it has a definite literary quality which shows especially in the vivid pictures of weather conditions and the almost poetical descriptions of the handling of the sails. It is entered in a regular cardboard-backed journal book, and it gives a running account free from the impedimenta surrounding the usual observations. It differs from other log books, too, in the careful daily listing of the sick members of the crew, with details of the various illnesses. Captain Richardson must have been an extraordinary man, for throughout his journal there are items which reflect an interest in science, a feeling of democratic comradeship with his men, a religious devoutness, and a keen desire to gather every possible scrap of world news.

The *America* sailed from Baltimore and spoke numerous ships off the coast, many of which had not heard of the war and received their first information concerning it from Captain Richardson. One vessel reported the Jamaica fleet far to the eastward, and this being beyond reach, the privateer, "with the consent and approbation of all my officers," turned south towards the West Indies. The English Schooner *Adela* with 200 barrels of flour was taken off St. Pierre, Martinique, and a prize crew was put aboard to conduct her to an American port. Then the English Schooner *Intrepid* was seized, and after some butter, tripe, candles, soap, salmon, and three live pigs were removed, the prisoners from the *Adela* were loaded onto her and she was sent to Haiti for sale. The *America* visited the ports of Aquin, Aux Cayes, and San Juan, and later sighted the St. Thomas fleet of 37 sail, but was chased away by the brig acting as

convoy. Gales and high seas prevented any further captures, and the crew was reduced to two-thirds of the regular allowance of provisions before the ship came to anchor off North Point at the conclusion of an unsatisfactory cruise.

In the back of the journal Captain Richardson listed the men who died (3), those who deserted (2), and those who were taken on at San Juan (6). He also made a columnar survey of the 28 vessels boarded during the cruise, giving the date, name, master, where from, where bound, home port, days out, owners' names, and cargo of each one. On the last page he put down the titles of his books, numbering 33 items in 47 volumes, and including 2 Bibles, 13 religious treatises, 2 dictionaries, 1 grammar, some works of general literature, and 5 books on navigation.

4. "Remarks on board Schooner *Rolla* James Dooley, Esqre Commander," October 31st 1812-January 25th 1813.

The cruise of the *Rolla* was one of the group under consideration which did not originate in Baltimore. She operated from Long Island Sound, and the first few pages are filled with a simple record of events while moving from port to port collecting a crew. After that, the journal becomes a regular log book, giving in columns the data as to knots, course, winds, and remarks. Captain Dooley notes with meticulous care every change of course or shift of wind, though occasionally he merely comments "variable." The *Rolla* was apparently one of the faster privateers, for she often made 12 knots; and this may account for her success in making prizes.

Newport, Fishers Island, New London, Point Judith, Bristol, Providence, and Falmouth were the places touched before the *Rolla* set out to sea, and two weeks were spent speaking to various ships encountered on the open ocean. The first prize was taken on December 5th, the British Lugger *Brisk* loaded with oranges, and after that a streak of good luck resulted in five more captures within a brief period. These included the English Schooner *Barbara*, the Ship *Mary* and the Ship *Eliza* from Bristol (England)—seized the same day, December 12th—the Brig *Barrosa*, and the Brig *Apollo* from London. By this time, so many officers and men had been put on the prizes that it was thought best to conclude the cruise. Accordingly, a landing was made at Teneriffe to leave prisoners, and then the *Rolla* headed for Baltimore. The cruise was a comparatively short one, but it was extremely profitable, the prize cargoes bringing nearly \$2,000,000, and the ship herself suffering no damage.

5. Papers of the private armed Schooner *Lawrence*, Edward Veazey, master, February-August 3rd 1814.

The papers of the *Lawrence* provide a picture of privateering from a different angle. Excerpts of the journal are included, but there is no regular log of events during the cruise. What there is a series of original documents tracing the career of what has been called "one of the successful privateers of the war."² These consist largely of letters sent back by Captain Veazey to the Baltimore agent for the ship, reporting the captures made, together with other letters relating to the subsequent happenings in connection with those prizes. In many ways, they give a more completely rounded view than the routine records kept on the voyages.

(1) February 1814: requests from Richard H. Douglass, agent, for seven owners (James Bosley, William T. Graham, Charles Gwynn, J. Smith Hollins, Justus Hoppe, George P. Stevenson, and Joel Vickers) to pay four instalments of \$500 each for demands against the *Lawrence*; some marked paid.

(2) February 26th: copy of the commission of the *Lawrence*, no. 968; gives tonnage as 259 tons, armament as 9 carriage guns, and crew as 120 men.

(3) March 1st: certificates Nos. 68 and 80, showing that Peter Volt and Thomas Durham, seamen, were entitled to two shares each of any prizes made by the *Lawrence* if they complied with the articles of agreement; former receipted twice on back by John C. King for full proportion of prize money for brig *Ceres* and *Pelican*.

(4) March 2nd: letter from Veazey to Douglass, saying that Mr. Leone sent bill for 3000 musket cartridges, but one box shows 355 short so there may not be over 2000 in all.

(5) March 4th: letter of attorney by officers and crew of the *Lawrence*, appointing Douglass attorney and agent for all at a commission of 3%, signed by 114 men (including Veazey), 66 with marks; on back William Sterett's oath that he was present and saw the paper signed.

(6) March 4th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, written in Chesapeake Bay and sent back by smack, reporting arrival off Potomac and saying they may go to sea the next day. "The Schooner sails beyond my most sanguine expectation. She is in good order for sea."

(7) April 16th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, sent by the Swedish Ship *Commarcen* loaded with oats and barley for the use of His Majesty's forces at Bilboa and captured by the *Lawrence*; postmarked in Portland, Maine.

(8) April 19th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, sent by the English Ship *Ontario* laden with wine, salt, and corkwood and captured by the *Lawrence*; reports men "in high Spirits and in good health."

(9) April 28th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, written at sea, sending an extract from the journal of the *Lawrence*. [Printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III (1908), 171].

(9a) April 16th-25th: the extract mentioned above. [Printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III (1908), 171-76].

(10) April 22nd-June 3rd: canvas-covered journal kept by Isaiah Lewis,

² Edgar S. Maclay, *A History of American Privateers*, New York, 1899, p. 430.

prize master of the Brig *Pelican* taken to France; six pages of entries covering the events of the trip in and disposition of the craft and cargo.

(11) May 18th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, describing the seven captures already made and listing their cargoes, a complete account to date.

(12) May 31st: letter from John Clark to Douglass, written from prison in Halifax, describing adventures as prize master of the Ship *Ontario* and its recapture by the British Sloop *Curlew*.

(13) June 6th: letter from Joseph Thomas to Douglass, written and postmarked in Portland, Maine, asking directions what to do with a seaman who was captured with a prize, but who helped greatly in getting the prize to port.

(14) June 29th: letter from Isaac G. Roberts to Douglass, written and postmarked in Portsmouth, N. H., reporting the results of the trials of the *Lawrence* prize cases at York; appends list of appraisals made on 8122 bushels of barley and 1988 bushels of wheat imported in the *Commarcen* and gives the names of the purchasers.

(15) Undated: statement of the affairs of the prize *Commarcen*, describing the various court proceedings.

(16) July 1st: letter from Roberts to Douglass, Portsmouth, reporting the arrival of the prize master and crew of the English Brig *Hope* which was recaptured by the English Privateer *Rolla*; mentions six captures made by the *Lawrence* and their fate.

(17) July 3rd: letter from Veazey to Douglass, written in Porto Rico, mailed in Philadelphia, describing the cruise to date and particularly an encounter with a large man-of-war.

(18) July 16th: letter from John A. Morton to Douglass, written in Bordeaux, mailed in New York, discussing the sale of the prize *Pelican* and estimating the probable proceeds at \$100,000-120,000; lists current quotations on coffee, indigo, pepper, sugar, hides, wool, and wine.

(19) July 19th: bill for \$1,375.38 from Samuel and Seward Porter of Portland, for disbursements on the prize *Ceres* and cargo, including discharging, wharfage, dockage, duties, and commission of 2½%.

(20) July 30th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, written from Fort Johnson, N. C., announcing the safe arrival of the *Lawrence* and sending an extract of its journal.

(20a) March 13th-July 24th: the extract mentioned above, a running account of the entire cruise.

(21) July 30th: letter from James Cunningham, prize master of the Brig *Hope* when it was recaptured, to Douglass, written from New York, asking for a further advance of money because travelling is so expensive and he has lost all his clothes.

(22) August 3rd: certificate, dated at Wilmington, N. C., showing that Thomas Durham served on board the *Lawrence* as a seaman and was entitled to two shares of all captures made during the first cruise.

(23) August 3rd: the same kind of certificate for James Clarke, attached to a paper appointing Jacob Levy of Wilmington agent to receive Clarke's shares, and followed in turn by Levy's designation of John C. King of Baltimore to act as Clarke's attorney.

(24) February-July: account of postage paid on 31 letters concerning the *Lawrence*, showing senders and amounts totalling \$15.60½.

(25) February 21st 1815: letter from Samuel Ralston to Douglass, written in Washington, N. C., reporting the arrival at Currituck of a large brig, prize to the *Lawrence* on her second cruise.

(26) May 1st: letter from James Hill to Douglass, written from Dartmoor Prison and mailed in Boston, informing Douglass that for £10 he has bought Thomas McLean's share of prize money.

(27) September 28th 1816: statement of Benjamin S. Davis selling to James Hooper for \$60 his interest in the *Lawrence's* prize money.

6. Papers of the letter of marque Schooner *Decatur*, George Montgomery, master, 1814.

The papers of the *Decatur* are not at all complete, and there is nothing in the way of a journal of the cruise, but the few scattered items do give an idea of some phases of the enterprise. Apparently the *Decatur* sailed from New York, and she certainly sent one prize to North Carolina; the conclusion of the voyage is unrecorded here. Emphasis is laid on the disposition of one of the captured ships rather than on the events as they occurred.

(1) June 26th 1814: list of agents to whom the *Decatur* was to consign her prizes, sent by Douglass to Montgomery.

(2) July 1st: power of attorney making Douglass agent for the captain and the crew, signed by 31 men, 9 with marks; also signed agreement that two-thirds of profits belong to owners, the remainder to be divided with the captain receiving 16 shares, first lieutenant 9, second lieutenant 7, boatswain 3, carpenter 3, gunner 3, cook 2, steward 2, boy 1, and seamen each 2, with 8 shares reserved for the most deserving of the crew according to the captain's judgment; on back statement by John S. Bogert of New York that these papers were made and executed in his office.

(3) August 31st: letter from Montgomery to Douglas, reporting the capture of the British Brig *William* from Senegal laden with gum.

(4) August 31st: letter from Samuel Dorsey (not in list of crew) to William Douglass, telling of the capture of the *William*.

(5) November 18th: list or roll of the *Decatur's* crew, certified by Gerardus Clark of New York, "the said Crew having been enrolled at my Office."

(5a) December 1st: copy of the above list or roll, certified by John Gill of Baltimore.

(6) March 13th 1815: letter from Stephen Pleasanton to William Douglass, written in Washington, asking for power of attorney and certificate of ownership of the *Decatur*.

(7) May 22nd: statement of distribution of proceeds from the *William*; total \$7,778.53, of which the owners took \$5,185.69, the remaining \$2,592.84 distributed as agreed with the shares for the worthy man awarded to William Williams.

(8) November 6th: letter from William Dunn to Messrs. R. and W. Douglass, written in Newbern, N. C., concerning one Bear's claims against the *Decatur*; on back gives current quotations on tar, turpentine, corn, and cotton, adding that "every Description of our produce is high."

7. "Private Armed Schr Kemp of Baltimore Joseph Almeda Esqre Commander from Wilmington NC on a Cruise," November 29th 1814-March 30th 1815.

The journal of the *Kemp* devotes an entire page to each day of the cruise except for a summary of the time spent making repairs between December 25th and January 15th. The hours, knots, courses, and winds are all recorded, and the latitude is carefully noted at the end of every day. The handwriting is evidently not that of the captain, for the sworn statement of the accuracy of the account is signed with his mark.

The *Kemp* sailed from Wilmington, N. C., and almost immediately came up with a fleet of seven sail. Four were captured on December 3rd after a brief engagement, and the *Kemp* returned to port to land prisoners. One of the prizes, the Ship *Rosella*, worth \$180,000, grounded on the way in and was lost, but the three others arrived safely.³ Six weeks were spent cruising along the coast and making repairs, and then the Leeward Islands became the center of much profitable activity. The English Packet *Lady Mary Pelham*, a fine new brig, was captured on February 9th after forty minutes' warm action. February 20th saw the taking of two more vessels: the British Schooners *Yankee Lass* (formerly an American privateer) and *Resolution*, both laden with sugar, molasses, and rum. The English Sloop *Mudian Lass* was the next victim, and the Ship *Ottawa*, bound from Liverpool to Jamaica with dry goods, proved to be a valuable prize. A stop was made at Santo Domingo, and the *Kemp* sailed leisurely past Cuba and up the coast to Baltimore. Her cruise was extremely successful and it doubtless gave bountiful returns to all concerned.

8. "Journal of Private Armed Brig Chasseur. Thos Boyle. Com. from New York on a Cruise," December 23rd 1814-March 17th 1815.

[Printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 168-80, 218-40.]

The *Chasseur* was the most famous of the Baltimore privateers. She was generally regarded as one of the best equipped and manned

³ Niles' *Weekly Register* (Baltimore) for January 7th 1815, VII, 293, gave an account of these captures with extracts from the journal of the *Kemp*. It concluded, "N.B. The prizes are large and valuable, loaded with coffee chiefly."

privateers in the war, and a Baltimore newspaper spoke of her as "perhaps, the most beautiful vessel that ever floated on the ocean." Her master, Captain Boyle, had established an enviable reputation in his previous command, the *Comet*, and he proceeded to set a real record in this new ship. She returned from her European cruise in October, 1814, and just two months later started off again to try her luck in West Indian waters. The journal of this voyage is set down in a canvas-backed blank book, and there are many details of the courses, the winds, and the handling of the sails. One particularly noticeable feature is the destruction of many of the ships taken—a practice not often followed by the privateers included in this survey.

The *Chasseur* sailed from New York and went all the way to Barbados before beginning her activities. The Schooner *Elizabeth* was captured and burned while several vessels were chasing the *Chasseur* off Bridgetown. Then the Sloops *Eclipse* and *Mary of Bequia* were pursued and sunk near St. Vincents. Several British men of war gave chase in the neighborhood of St. Lucia, and on one occasion it was necessary for the *Chasseur* to heave overboard some of her armament and spare spars in order to draw away. The merchant Ship *Corunna*, bound from London to Granada with coal and articles of hardware, was caught and sent to the United States with a prize crew. The London convoy of 110 sail was sighted on February 3rd, but the frigate protecting the fleet chased the Baltimorean twice until she lost sight entirely. The Ship *Adventure*, bound from London to Havana with iron work, was the next capture sent to an American port, while the Jamaica Ketch *Martin* was burned after her provisions had been removed. The *Mary and Susanna* was taken and put in charge of a prize crew, and then on February 27th took place the heroic battle with H. M. S. *St. Lawrence*, which has been described and pictured in many places.⁴ Soon thereafter a passing ship brought news that peace had been signed, so the *Chasseur* made all sail for the Chesapeake and Baltimore after a truly remarkable cruise.

9. "Journal of the Xebec *Ultor* on her Second Cruse from New York James Mathews Comd.," . . . January 20th-April 4th 1815. . . .

The record of the *Ultor's* cruise is written on paper ruled by pencil, and the entire first and last portions are missing. There are occasional gaps in the entries, as from February 5th-10th and March 5th-11th; probably there was nothing worth putting down for those

⁴ The encounter with the *St. Lawrence* is discussed in detail in Maclay, pp. 295-300, and in Theodore Roosevelt's *The Naval War of 1812*, New York, 1901, pp. 415-16.

days. The *Utor* differed from the other privateers in that it resembled the long, low, lateen-rigged vessels used by the Mediterranean corsairs.

The *Utor* operated almost entirely in the Leeward Islands, and it was near Montserrat and Antigua that she captured and burned the British Birgs *John* and *Maria Annabella*. The English Sloop *Constitution* met the same fate off Guadeloupe, and then the *Utor* proceeded to Santo Domingo waters. The Ship *Ann* of Liverpool with a cargo of mahogany was seized three or four miles from shore and ordered to the United States, and the Brig *Mohawk* was taken in the Bay of Neyva and ransomed for three thousand Spanish milled dollars. Spanish, Swedish, Hamburg, Peruvian, and Carthaginian craft were among those chased and boarded before an American merchantman told her commander of the proclamation of peace, and the *Utor* headed north for Baltimore.

The Johns Hopkins University.

SOME UNPUBLISHED HAWLEY-HALLEY DATA

By H. T. CORY

At least five Hawleys played important rôles in the development of the Maryland and Virginia colonies prior to 1650 and some revisions of heretofore accepted data concerning some of them are necessary in the light of facts which have recently come to the writer's hands.

One James Hawley lived in Boston near Brentford, County Middlesex, England, from 1558 to his death in September, 1622. His ancestral line is given in *The Hawley Record*¹ as John 1; William 2; and John 3 of Auler, County Somerset, the latter being the first of the family to settle in that country. He married Dorothy, sister of William Walnot of Shopwick. His second son, Jeremy 4, of Boston near Brentwood, County Middlesex, who died in 1593, had as his wife Rynburgh, daughter of Valentine Saunders, of Sutton Court, County Middlesex, Rynburgh dying in February, 1575. They had several children, one being James 5.

This James 5 was born at Boston 1558 and died there September 1622. His first wife was Susanna, daughter of Richard Tothill of Amersham. She died in 1610. His second wife was Elizabeth Burnell and she died in 1621. By his first wife, he had five sons and three daughters and by his second wife, three sons. At least five of these children came to America.

Probably the oldest son was Jeremy, more usually called Jerome, who was born in 1580. His first wife was a Miss Hawkins by whom he had at least three children: Robert, Gabriel, and Judith. His second wife was Elinor de Courtney, widow of Thomas and mother of Sir William De Courtney,² who long survived him and by whom he apparently had no issue. He evidently was a dashing courtier, lived extravagantly, gambled for high stakes, especially later in life, and was a gentleman in waiting at the Court of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France and who in May, 1625, married Charles I of England. Many things indicate that there was a close friendship between him and George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and probably also with George's brother, Leonard. He took an eighth interest in Calvert's Maryland project and was one of the three commissioners assisting Leonard Calvert in the "Ark" and

¹ Elias S. Hawley, *The Hawley Record*. Buffalo, N. Y., E. H. Hutchinson & Co., 1890, p. ix f.

² *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. X, p. 444.

"Dove" expedition and first settlement of Maryland in 1633-4; the other two commissioners being Thomas Cornwallis and John Lewger. On January 10, 1636/7, possibly on George Calvert's recommendation, Jerome was appointed by Charles I as treasurer of Virginia, which post he held until his death about July, 1638.

The second of James's sons was Henry who was for many years governor of Barbadoes, dying there June 8, 1679, as did his wife Jane, May 11, 1678. Apparently he also visited Virginia and Maryland.

The third of James's sons was Capt. William who acted as deputy governor of Barbadoes for several months while his brother Henry was away on a leave of absence. He was in Virginia as early as 1644 and was deputy governor of the Carolinas in 1645. For him was surveyed St. Jerome's Manor of 2100 acres in St. Mary's County, Maryland, January 15, 1648. He signed the Protestant Declaration there in 1650 and died in 1654. His will disappeared shortly after his death and its provisions are yet unknown.

The fourth of James's sons was James who is said to have died without posterity in England in 1667. It is generally understood he never came to America but he supplied much financial backing to his brother Jerome's Maryland venture. Whether because of Jerome's high living or events in the Maryland Colony, James probably was never fully repaid his advances or investments as on July 30, 1649, he wrote his brother William, hereinabove mentioned, a letter dated Brentford, Middlesex County, in which he stated that Jerome's estate owed him, James, substantial sums. He asked William to do all possible to collect from Thomas Cornwallis large amounts which James felt had been withheld from Jerome's estate.⁸

The fifth son of James, by his second wife, Valentine, went to the Barbadoes. A daughter, Susanna, also by James's second wife, who married Sir Richard Pier, also went to the Barbadoes. Lastly, another son, but by James's first wife, Gabriel, possibly came to America also. The uncertainty is due to there having been two contemporary Gabriel Hawleys in the immediate clan under consideration.

Sherwood⁴ gives the following:

In the Records of the Draper's Company, London . . . 1616, January 22.

HAWLEY, Gabriel, son of James of Brainford (Brentford), Middlesex, "generosus," apprenticed to

⁸ E. D. Neill, *The Founders of Maryland*, Albany, N. Y., Munsell, 1876, pp. 82-5.

⁴ George F. T. Sherwood, *American Colonists in English Records*, London, 1933, 1st Series, p. 23 and 2^d Series, p. 103.

PAVIER, William, for 9 years.

Free of the Company 6 July, 1636. On 11 July, 1636, takes apprentice

BOROUGHES, John. Note in 1636/42 Book: "in Virginia."

In the Public Record Office, London. Delegates Examination. vol. 2. Baltimore v. Leonards.

A. D.

1635 HAWLEY, Gabriel, of London, Gent., aged 34, has lived there 5 years; before that in Virginia 10 months; and before that in London 5 years or more. (signs)

BALTIMORE, Lord, his house at the Upper end of Holborn; his brother and partner

LEONARDS, Leonard, loaded into "The Ark" sailing to Maryland in Sept. 1633, divers tonnes of beer to the use of Lord BALTIMORE. There were three or four joined as partners in the said ship and her pinnace "The Dove."

HALLY, Mr. Jerome, a partner in "The Ark," had an eighth part.

HALLEY, Gabriel, did bespeak and provide beer and victuals for the ship.

CALVERT, Captain Leonard, partner in the pinnace.

CORNWALLYS, Mr. Thomas, ditto.

SANDES or SAUNDERS, Mr. John, ditto.

BOULTER, John, citizen & skinner of London, of St. Batolph, Aldgate, aged 40; has lived there 3 years, and before that for 12 years in the East Indies. Was purser and steward of the ship for the said voyage under the Lord BALTIMORE." (signs)

Incidentally note the three spellings of Hawley-Hally-Halley in the last quotation.

These two records in connection with the fact that Gabriel Hawley was surveyor general of Virginia until that post was filled, probably on the death of the incumbent, by Robert Evelyn in 1637, clearly show there were two Gabriel Hawleys contemporaneously playing parts in the Virginia-Maryland colonial ventures.

One of these, a son of James Hawley and his first wife Susannah Tothill (Tuttle?) was in London as an apprentice of William Pavier for nine years prior to July 6, 1636. He probably was born about 1609. Another, born in 1601, spent ten months in Virginia from 1629 to 1630, and had a significant part in the *Ark* and *Dove* expedition. Doubtless it was the latter who for some time prior to and until 1637 was surveyor general of Virginia.

The writer has just ascertained the identity of this second Gabriel from Mrs. J. Stanford Halley of Corsicana, Texas, who for years has been compiling genealogical data of the Halleys in America. About 1915 Mrs. Halley learned from Mr. J. M. Halley of Mc-

Gregor, Texas, of a Halley record in the possession of a Mr. Samuel Halley then living in a suburb of Macon, Georgia. Accordingly she had Rev. J. G. Moreton, a retired Baptist minister and indefatigable worker in genealogical matters, visit Macon to copy the said records.

Mr. Samuel Halley, then 77 years old, absolutely refused the suggestion of Mr. Moreton that the record should be placed in some historical collection for preservation in a fire-proof building. However, permission was gladly given to copy it in full. This Mr. Moreton did, and most fortunately, as a year later Mr. Samuel Halley's house burned and with it the record, while a year later the old gentleman died.

Mrs. J. Stanford Halley, like many other genealogists, has not yet completed for publication her record of the Halleys in America, and just now is deeply occupied with civic work. So she has loaned me for preparation of this paper, the report made to her in 1916 by the Rev. J. G. Moreton of the aforesaid record.

I quote it in full:

Item 1— . . . Thms Halley . . . Ludburgh . . . 15 . . . to . . .

(NOTE—I thought this to be a birth record or marriage. The date appeared to be 1530 or 1538 or 1550. The first numerals were fairly distinct.)

Item 2—Jeromie Hawley . . . life ye 17th (or 19th) day . . . 16 . . .

(Evidently a death record. Note that one date was 1500, the other 1600. The writing is the same so evidently copied for a purpose, probably to be used in the book. "departed this" I think were the absent words.)

Item 3—Wm and Thms Hawley declaired of . . . protesting faiths . . . and signers . . . thereof . . . ye . . . 16 . . .

(Please note the different spellings of the name.)

Item 4—Thms Haley and clerk Francis Walford Staffordshire with . . . cousin Sara Hawley with . . . to the number of twenty souls . . . with familys and indentured servants . . . in province of Maryland . . . Enterprise . . .

(NOTE—The word after Sara Hawley looks more like "wife" than "with." This appears that Thomas was transporting colonists. There is no date, but the name of the boat or ship, might help you. Note the spelling of the cousins' names.)

Item 5—J . . . Haley to E. Bunche (or Burche)

(NOTE—No date to this record. It seems rather abrupt.)

Item 6—Thomas Halley to Elizabeth Burche (or Bunche?) wid w/2 1728 (or 23) with . . . children

(NOTE—Underneath this is the name of John Hally and another not distinct enough to read. The writing is different—it seems to be a marriage record but could have been a transfer of property. If the latter, it seems odd that it was on record in this book.)

There were a number of other names without dates. I do not know why they were recorded. The writing was indistinct but we satisfied ourselves that they were correct. It is not unreasonable to suppose that some were births or deaths copied from memory, from a prayer book or Bible. At the end of the book is a notation that the "Holy Evangels" was "consumed in the flames." It does not record when or where. The names are 1 & 2 Jerry and Omy, twins, 3. James Hawley, 4. Jeromy Hally, 5. Gabriel Hally, 6. Clemmie Hally, 7. Jerimy Halley (Jeremy is spelled with an "i" this time), 8. Daniel Holly, 9. John S. Hally, 10. Henry L (or S) Hally, 11. William Hally, 12. William Hally, 13. Edward Hally. (NOTE—Please note that the spelling seemed to take the form Hally and keep it until the last record which follows, then the *E* is inserted. In regard to the above, I believe that after the burning of the Bible some member of the family tried to write the records from memory. The dates were forgotten but the names remembered. This book seemed to take the place of the records, because the last pages contain the complete record of later families whose Bible are extant. You have those last records. I shall not send them at this time. They include Nathaniel, Dr. Samuel's and Henry S. Halley and Elizabeth, and names of the slaves and births of each.)

Item 7—John Halley to Elizabeth Price wid'r with two children Jan. 31, (?) 177— England.

(NOTE—I tried to get the place in England—even used a hot iron on it to bring out the ink more clearly but no lettering appeared before the word "England." The date should be 1770. If this is a marriage record, we may presume that other like records are marriage records.)

Item 1 is evidently the record of the marriage of Jeremy Thomas Hawley to Rudburgh or Rynburgh Saunders about 1550, the grandparents of the brothers and sisters hereinbefore mentioned who came to America. Item 6 is plainly the genealogical line of descent for twelve generations.

The point of general historical as distinct from family interest is that the Jerome Hawley, partner of Lord Baltimore in the Maryland Province project, including the *Ark* and the *Dove* had a son Gabriel and grandson Clement.

Evidently this son Gabriel was the second Gabriel mentioned in the English records quoted, the other being the son of James and Susannah Tothill and brother of Commissioner Jerome Hawley. Also, incidentally, it may be noted that Clement Haly who died at Chaptico, St. Mary's Co. in 1695 was Jerome's grandson.

Finally, we conclude that the Gabriel Hawley who was surveyor general of Virginia for some time prior to 1637 was the son and not the brother of Jerome Hawley, the treasurer of Virginia from January 1637 to his death July, 1638, and probably that this son's death antedated that of the father.

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXXIII, 4, p. 388.)

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Betsey Captain Love seven Tons of Barr Iron Please to make Insurance for me on Her from Wye to the Port of London that in Case of Loss I may Draw one Hundred Pounds Clear of all Charges

I am Sir Y^r most H^{ble} Serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland }
July 19th 1764 }

⌘ Cap^t John Johnston sent wth M^r Dick's Letters

⌘ Capt Goundell in the munificence Sent ⌘ I Gentleman at
Doctor Steuarts

Sir

Inclosed I send Cer^t of the seven Tons of Bar on Board of Love Being Plantation Made

I am Sir Y^r mo H^{ble} Serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis July 19 1764
To M^r William Anderson
Merch^t in London

Gent

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Albion Captain Spencer now in Chester River Ten Tons of Pig and Eight Tons of Barr Iron I Desire you will make Insurance for me on the said Vessell while in the said River and thence to your Port of Bristol that in Case of Loss I may Draw one Hundred and Seventy pounds Clear of all Charges

I am Gentlemen your most H^{ble} Serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Septem^r }
11th 1764 }

To Mess^{rs} Sedgeley Hillhouse
and Company merchants in Bristol

⌘ M^r Zachariah Hood in Hanck }

⌘ Captain Lane }

Copy Given M^r Rob^t Lloyd to send

Copy ⌘ Cock

Dear Sir

Yours of the 30th March Last I Received and all the Goods sent by Love Safe and Good The Tea Indeed Peggy Does not think the best for the Price Please by the first of your Ships Convenient to send me the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice I send you Inclosed the first of our Province Bills for £966.. 0.. 9 with which as I suppose it must be Good Please to Credit my Account I have but Just time to Close my Letter by Johnson by some of the next Ships I shall send you a Further Invoice and write more fully Pray our Kind Compliments to all yours

I am Dear Sir Y^r M^o h^{ble} Serv^t

C. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland }
 October 2^d 1764 }
 To M^r William Anderson }
 Merchant in London }
 @ Capt. Johnston

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to M^r William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 2^d of October 1764

- 58 yards of Substantial Silk and worsted Crimson Damask for window Curtains for a Dining Room @ about 8/ @ yard and one hundred and Sixty Eight yards of Proper Binding of same Colour
- 29 yards of Green worsted Damask for Curtains for a Common Parlour.
- 84 yards of Proper Binding of the same Colour.
- 2 Neat Mahogany Chest of Drawers.
- 6 Carpet Bottom Mahogany framed Chairs about 15/ @ for Bed Chamber
- 6 Strong Ditto about Ditto Black Leather Bottoms for a Parlour. And two Arm Chairs of the same Sort.
- A Large Easy Arm Chair well Stuffed in the seat Back and Sides Covered with Common Stuff Damask and a Cushion
- A pair of End Irons Brass Knobbed with a fire shovel and Tongs and pair of Bellows for a Bed Chamber made Strong.
- 2 pieces 24 yards in Each of Cotton for a Bed & Curtains of a white Ground and Lively Colours
- one Silver Bread server or waiter to suit a small Company about 8 or 10 Persons fashionable Light and Handy I have seen them in the fashion of Fruit Baskets or Sea Shells
- one Black Shagreen Case with a Dozen Silver Handled Table Knives and Forks and one Dozen Spoons
- one Ditto Case with a Dozen Silver Handled Desert Knives and Forks and a Dozen Desert or Custard spoons.
- one Plain Silver three Pint Chocolate Pot.
- one Cream Pot of middle size I suppose the Fashion to be Chased.
- one small Silver waiter about 10 ounces.

my Crest or the same Coat as was Cut for Peggys Seal to be put on the Plate or if the Coat be Lost put mine

Sir William Temples works 4 vol^s Octavo

Lord Shaftsbury's works in four vol^s Containing his Letters.

Lord Molesworths History of Denmark

And Bishop Robinsons Account of Sweden

Polnitys Memoirs.

Keatings History of Ireland or the best Irish History Published

About 20/ of the Best Political & other pamphlets yearly Especially those that Relate to the Colonies

- 4 pair of Crimson Silk and worsted Damask window Curtains for 4 Large windows two Curtains to a window Each Curtain two Breadths wide and 2½ yards and three Inches in Length.

- 2 pair of Ditto Curtains for two End windows of the same Length with only a Breadth and Half in Each all Lined with thin Durants or Lammy of same Colour as may be necessary as our suns may spoil them.

- 2 pair of Green worsted Damask window Curtains for two Large Parlour windows Each Curtain two Breadths wide and two yards and a Half and three Inches Long.

one Single Ditto Curtain two Breadths wide and same Length with former for an End window these Green worsted I think need not be Laced all the Curtains to be Properly bound Round with Binding of same Colour and to be Quilled at Top

These Articles wrote for instead of the Stuff and materials for window Curtains Mentioned in the beginning of this Invoice

Gent

I had an Account Delivered to me this year by Mr Simm Dated November the first 1763 very Different from that sent me in by you Last year Dated Augst 10th 1763 in which the Ballance Due you was only one Hundred and Sixty five Pounds Seven Shillings and two pence But by this Delivered by Mr Simm you make by Charging Interest the Ballance to be two hundred and Seventeen pounds three shillings and Eight pence The Charge of Interest I Look upon not to be just as I had always Pigg and Barr Iron Ready to Ship you to make Remittance as I Promised and made offers Both to Mr Franklin and Captain Bell but your Ships would not take it in And I Cant Help besides Reminding you How much I was a Loser by your Keeping my Iron so Long by you and selling it at Last for a Lower Price than it would have Brought the year you Received it. I have besides no Credit for the five Tons of Pigg and five Tons of Barr Shipped you Last year in Your Ship the Unity Captain Wats. After you have given me Credit By the Proceeds of that Iron and struck out the Interest Charged in Your Account of the 1st of

November and altered it agreeable to that of the 10th of August 1763 which I hope you will think Just I will Remit you Effects to Discharge what Ballance may Remain Due to you if you will give me Room in any of your Ships or I will Immediately Do the same by Bills of Exchange and shall with Pleasure send you Effects and Carry on a Correspondence when Ever opportunity offers

I am Gentlemen your mo^hble Serv^t

C. Carroll

Annapolis October 2^d 1764

To Anthony Bacon Esq^r
and Company mercht^s
in London

£ Capt. Cock }
£ Capt. Curling }

An Additional Invoice of Goods sent inclosed in a Letter to M^r William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 4th October 1764

4
) (C
x | x

- | | | |
|---|-------|-------|
| 7lb Green Tea | @ 14/ | £ |
| 2lb Hyson Ditto | @ 18/ | £ |
| 7 Loaves of Double refined Sugar | | |
| 7 Ditto of Single | | Ditto |
| Mace 4 ounces | | |
| Cinamon 6 ounces | | |
| Nutmegs 4 ounces | | |
| Cloves 4 ounces | | |
| one womans Hunting Saddle of the Large Easy Sort of Green Cloth with a Strong but narrow Gold Binding or Trimming on the Cover and proper Furniture w th Bridle Suitable | | |
| 2 Wicker Baskets Lined with Tin one open Down the Sides for Carrying Clean Plates the other Close for fowl and one for Knives | | |
| 12 Packs of Playing Cards | | |
| 3 Dozen Bottles of Fresh Pyrmont water in Quart Bottles or what they Call Half Bottles. | | |
| 3 Dozen fresh German Spaw water | | |
| 1lb best Jesuit Bark Powdered and Close Packed. | | |
| 2 Gallons Best Lamp Spirit for Tea Kettle in pint Bottles well Stopped. | | |
| 1 Dozen best shaving wash Balls not much perfumed. | | |
| Silk and Cotton Binding for the two pieces Cotton wrote for, for Bed and Curtains. | | |
| one Plain Green Silk waistcoat for myself of Corded Green Silk not made too Short. Eccleston has my Measure. | | |
| Set of Table China as follows viz. | | |
| 2 Large enamald China Dishes | | |
| 4 Ditto a Size Less | | |
| 2 Ditto the next Size | | |
| 4 Ditto of the Least. | | |

- 1 Middling Sized Soup Dish
- 3 Dozen enamald Plates to suit the Dishes
- 2 Dozen Soup Ditto
- 2 Sallad Dishes
- 2 Bowls or Pudding Dishes
- 6 Saucers or shells for Pickles
- 1 Dozen Nankeen Bread and Butter or Breakfast Plates
- 1 Dozen very fine Damask Napkins
- 2 $\frac{7}{4}$ Damask Table Cloths
- 6 $\frac{8}{4}$ Diaper Table Cloths
- 6 $\frac{6}{4}$ Ditto Ditto
- 1 piece of Course White Dowlass
- 1 folio family Bible Red or blue Cover Strong Paper Gilt
- 2 Prayer Books Blue Covers Gilt in octavo
- 1 piece of Brocade with white ground and Lively Colours that will Cost
about 15/ ₤ yard made up in a negligee and Coat or any other
Garment is more fashionable
- 1 piece of point Lace Lappits
- 1 a Silk and Gold Flounce to Trim the Coat and Side of a French Robe
- 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ yards broad Silk and Gold nett Lace
- 10 yards of narrow Ditto
- 1 piece 8 or 10 yards fine Cotton Stamp'd with Lively Colours
- 1 piece fine Lawn
- 2 Gause Caps. 8 yards of Rich flowered Gause
- 6 pair womens best Kid Gloves. 6 pair Ditto mitts
- 4 pair Ditto fine India Cotton Hose
- 2 pair Ditto thread Ditto
- 3m best midling pins and 3m short white Ditto.
- 3m Lilykin Ditto

Dear Sir

Inclosed I send you the Third of our Province Bills for Nine Hundred and Sixty six pounds and nine pence with a copy of my Invoice sent by Johnston and an additional one to that for my own use.

We think it Better to have the Crimson Silk and worsted Damask and the Green worsted Damask window Curtains made up with you so have in this Article altered from the first Invoice sent and wrote for the Curtains instead of the Stuff and materials By the advice of our Physicians I must Call in the Assistance of the Pymont and German Spaw waters to subdue my Inveterate Enemy the fever and ague So I have this year wrote for some, they must be Quite fresh and Genuine and as little adulterated as Possible with the spirite of Sulphur or vetriol which they put in to make them Clear and Smart or they will not do for me. I shall take it as a favour if you will give this in Charge to the Person from whom you get them, if there should be a Fresh and Good Im-

portation of them at times and Convenient opportunity should offer I shall be Glad if at times you will send me two or three Dozen I suppose I shall use about Eight or Ten Dozen a year, I write for the Pymont in Half Bottles for if it Comes in two Quart Bottles if not Drank out Quick it will grow Dead. I shall be obliged if you^l Direct your Book seller (I hope he is a man of Taste) to send me in yearly about 15 or 20 Shillings of the Best Political and other Pamphlets Especially any that Relate to the Interest and Circumstances of the Colonies or the monthly Reviews but none of Religious Controversy it is some Amusement to Learn from your authors and their works of wit how things Pass with you he may forward them as opportunity offers The womans Saddle I write for must have a Housing to it must be made Strong as our Servants here are Careless I in Close a letter from Peggy to her Cousin I most Sincerely wish you all well and am

Dear Sir your most humble Servant

C. Carroll

Annapolis October 4th 1764

P. S. I shall not want any Valens to the Curtains wrote for

To Mr William Anderson	}
Merchant in London	}
	⌘ Captain Cock }
	⌘ Cap ^t Curling }

Sir

I wrote you of the 13th of May Last to send me a Lady's Velvet Large Cloak or Cardinal of a Fashionable Colour and Lined with Shag or fur as it was for winter wear, if you have not already sent it Please to send it with my Goods ordered this year

Add Likewise to them four Pounds Best fig Blue Send also the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice for my Proportion of Goods for the Baltimore Company.

I am Sir your M^hle Serv^t

C. Carroll

Annapolis October 5th 1764

To Mr William Anderson	}
Merchant in London	}
	⌘ Captain Cock

Sir

Please when you send the Goods I wrote for this year Both for my own use and those I wrote for for my Proportion for the Baltimore Company to make Insurance on them So that in Case of Loss I may Draw the Principal and all Charges if Ever I should write for any Parcels of Goods above twenty or thirty Pounds and should forget the ordering Insurance on them be pleased to make it in the above form

I am Sir your most H^{ble} Serv^t

Annapolis Maryland }
October 6th 1764 }

C Carroll

To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London

☞ Captain Cock

☞ Capt. Curling

B
X

Invoice of Goods for the Baltimore Works sent inclosed in a Letter to Mr W^m Anderson Merch^t in London Dated October 5th 1764

700 Ells best osnabrigs

2 pieces Irish Linen @ 12^d

2 pieces Ditto @ 16^d

2 pieces Ditto @ 18^d

1 piece Ditto @ 20^d

1 piece Ditto @ 2/

1 piece Ditto @ 2/6^d

3 pieces Check

3 piece Roles

1 piece Brown holland

2 pieces Stript duffel

3 pieces white Kersey

1 piece Welsh Cotton

1½ Dozen yarn Rugs

7 piece blue German Serge @ 5/

Shalloon and Twist for Ditto

6 Dozen Camp blue Coat and } Buttons
12 Dozen Ditto Ditto vest }

6 pieces Shalloon different Colours

20 m 10^d }

15 m 20^d } and 20 m 8^d nails

1 Dozen Large Smiths files

1 Dozen X Cut Saw files

1 Dozen Whip Saw Ditto

1 Dozen Hand Saw Ditto

1 Dozen Augers sorted

1 Dozen Sail needles

- 1 Gross Curby fish hooks
- 1 Dozen frying Pans
- 1/2 Doz. Carpenters 2 foot Rules
- 2 Doz. mens shoes
- 1 Doz. womens Ditto
- 2 Reams uncut writing Paper
- 2 Reams Cut Ditto
- 1 Doz. Ink Powder
- 2 Dozen Quart white Stone Muggs
- 2 Doz. pint D^o
- 1 Doz. 1/2 pint D^o
- 1 Doz. Stone Pitchers
- 3 Doz. Narrow Mouth Stone Jugs sorted
- 6, 2 Quart Delf Bowls
- 6, 3 pint Ditto
- 1 Doz. Shallow delf Plates
- 1 Doz. Soup Ditto
- 4 Doz. Butter Pots (sorted)
- 1 Doz. Shoe Brushes
- 1 Doz. horn Combs
- 2 Doz. Ivory Ditto
- 2 Doz. bed Cords
- 3 Doz. hair Sieves
- 2 faggots English }
2t Blistered } Steel
- 6 Large Bull Hides oiled but not Curried }
fit for Furnace Bellows }
- 30 mens fearnaught Pea Jackets
- 2 pieces Drugget
- 12 Doz. vest and 6 Dozen Coat
Buttons with Twist for Ditto
- 5 yards fine broad Cloth }
5 yards Ditto @ 12/ } Different Colours }
with Shalloon and other Trimmings Suitable }

This Invoice about £160-0-0—

$\frac{4}{x} \left(\frac{4}{x} \right)$

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter To Mess^r Sedgley
Hilhouse and Company Merchants at Bristol marked $\frac{4}{x} \left(\frac{4}{x} \right)$ and Dated
the 6th October 1764—

- 7 pieces Best osnabrigs
- 1 piece Best Sprig Linen
- 6 pieces Brown Rolls or Craws
- 2 pieces Dowlas
- 1 piece Irish Shirting Linen yard wide @ 5/ ③
- 2 pieces yard wide Cotton Chex
- 1 piece of Birds Eyed Hankerchiefs or other Linen or Cotton @ abot 8^d ③
- 1 piece Sheeting Linen @ about 3/6^d ③ yard
- 1 piece D^o D^o about 2/6^d ③ yard

- 1 piece Cloth Coloured Kersey and Suitable Trimings for Ditto
- 1 piece Grey Fearnought
- 1 piece Coloured Ditto
- 2 pieces Blue Half thick
- 500 yards best Welsh Cotton
- 1 piece Match Coat Blanketting
- 2 Doz. Torrington Ruggs about 3/6^d Ⓐ
- 4 Broad axes
- 2 Hand Saws 6 whip saw files
- 6 X Cut Saw 6 Hand saw Ditto
- 6 Large strong frying Pans Good Long Handles
- 20 m 10^d nails and 10 m 20^d Ditto
- 4 pair of wool Cards
- 6 Good Comon Stock Locks
- 6 Strong best Padlocks
- 6 Ditto Cheaper Sort
- 2 Faggots English Steel
- 1 Bundle Blistered Ditto
- 6 Curry Combs and 6 Brushes
- 1 Doz. Mens Coarse Felt Hats
- 1 Doz. Ditto Finer
- 1/4 C^w of Double E F. F. Gun powder
- 50 lb of Drop
- 40 of Bristol } Shot }
- 10 Goose
- 25 lb Brim Stone
- 6 Mop Heads
- 6 Scrubbing Brush Heads
- 6 Broom Ditto
- 6 Hair Seives
- 2 Doz. mens Double worsted Caps
- 1 Doz. womens blue yarn Hose
- 2 Best Flanders Bed Ticks Bolsters and Pillows
- 150 Grey Flag Stones for Paving Passages I think they are 18 Inches square and Come in at 3/ Ⓐ yard they must be thick and strong as they are for an outside Piazza—
- 2 Dozen Scythe Stones
- 2 Doz. Large Stone Butter Pots
- 4 Doz. strong Gallon Pewter Basons
- 15 lb Pounds fresh Lucerne seed well and Dry }
Packed and not Turned into the Hold or any Damp Place }

Gent

I find I am so unfortunate as to fail in Every attempt to Carry on that Correspondence with you I would Incline. I this year offered your Captain Hanson Both barr and Pig for your Patapsco vessell But was Refused. Therefore now send you one of our Province Bills of Exchange for thirty two Pounds and six pence Sterling which will Discharge the Ballance Due you for the Lions Sent me Except one Shilling and Ten pence for which must be your Debtor till an

opportunity offers of Paying it we are in Dayly Expectation of Seeing Mr Buchanan who I hope will shew more Inclination to take me as a Correspondent than your Captains of this be assured that I will with Pleasure when Ever you or they Please Consign you any Effects I Deal in I am

Gent your most H^{ble} Serv^t

Annapolis Maryland }
October 6th 1764 }

C. Carroll

To Mr William Perkins }
and C^o Merch^{ts} in London }
 ⌘ Captain Cock }
 ⌘ Curling }

Gent^t

I have this year Shipped to you in Captain Spencer 10 Tons of Pig and 8 Tons of Bar Iron to make Trial How those Commodities Turn out at your Post Inclosed I send you Bill Lading for the same and Certificate that they are Plantation made—I hope by the Price they bear with you to be Encouraged to Continue the Correspondence—

I send you also an Invoice of some Goods to be sent by the very first of your Ships Coming in as they are for my own family use they must be the best in their Kinds the four Dozen Gallon Pewter Basons mentioned in the Invoice are for a Dairy if there are any Particularly made for that use Let them be of that Sort. The Flag Stones must be such as will bear the weather Mr Nicholas Maccubbin Had some Come in from you @ 3/ ⌘ yard of a blueish Grey that he Tells me stand the Rains and frost Pretty well without Peeling. I have seen others of a whiter Kind that Look Harder send me which you Judge best of about the Price. I shall be obliged if your Captain Has Room if he will take the seed wrote for into his Cabbin as it is apt to be spoiled by any Damp it may Receive. Please to make Insurance on the Goods when sent me so that in Case of Loss I may Draw the Principal and all Charges—I hope for your Care in the above and

Am Gentlemen Y^r M^o h^{ble} Serv^t

C. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland October }
6th 1764 }

To Mess^{rs} Sedgley Hilhouse and }
Randolph Merch^t in Bristol }
October 13th 1764 Give to Mr
Thos Ringgold to put on board
the Albion Capt. Tho. Spencer
p^r Curling

(To be continued.)

A NOTE ON THE MINUTES OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES,
FEBRUARY 10-MARCH 13, 1777

By ELIZABETH W. MEADE

The rough "Minutes of the House of Delegates," covering the period between February 10, 1777 and March 13, 1777, have come to light recently among the miscellaneous papers of the Chancery Court at the Hall of Records. The minutes are recorded in a notebook, 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ by 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, which contains 48 unnumbered pages. When the book was found, the outer cover was gone, pages at the beginning and end seemed to be missing, and the remaining pages were badly damaged along the lower margin. Since its recovery the document has been repaired and restored as far as possible to its original condition.

It is apparent that these notes were taken, in a kind of shorthand, during the sessions of the Legislature, to be expanded later into the complete journals of the House of Delegates. The Hall of Records has a series, though a very incomplete one, of these notebooks. Until this little book was discovered, there was a gap in the series from February 7, 1777 to March 15, 1777. These rough notes and the "Journal of the House of Delegates, 1777-1778" are almost identical in arrangement, wording and content, so far as it is possible to check the one against the other. The minutes do not include any material which was presented to the Legislature in written form, such as the text of bills, proclamations, and letters, though the place for their insertion is indicated. All the notebooks for 1777 are in the same handwriting but, without more evidence, it is impossible to say whether Gabriel Duvall, the clerk of the House of Delegates, took his own notes or left that duty to an assistant.

It will be remembered that the establishment of the State government in Maryland took place in the early months of 1777. The assumption of statehood represented the final step in the gradual process of severing the legal ties between Great Britain and her colony. The first convention of those in Maryland who opposed British regulations met on June 22, 1774. From that date until 1777, the supreme governmental authority was vested in a convention composed of the representatives from each county in Maryland. Because of its unwieldy numbers the convention functioned through a council of safety of sixteen to seven members, which was, in fact, the executive branch of the larger body. The Council of Safety began its sessions on August 21, 1775 with full authority to carry on the

struggle against Great Britain except in a case of great emergency, at which time the whole Convention might be assembled. This arrangement was continued till March 22, 1777, the day after the inauguration of Thomas Johnson as Governor of the State of Maryland. On that date the Council of Safety was abolished.

The first constitution of the State of Maryland was drawn up by a special convention which sat from August 14 to November 11 of the year 1776. According to Scharf's *History of Maryland* (Vol. II, 284-85, 287), the senatorial electors were chosen on November 25, 1776, the election of the members of the House of Delegates took place on December 18, 1776 and the first General Assembly met on February 5, 1777 by order of the Council of Safety. One of the earliest acts of the Assembly was the election of Thomas Johnson as Governor on February 13; the following day they completed the organization of the State government by choosing an executive council of five members to assist the governor.

This brief recital of the familiar details in the history of the State indicates the importance of the period between February 10, 1777 and March 13, 1777, the period which is covered by the newly discovered "Minutes of the House of Delegates." Though the governor and council were chosen during this period, the Council of Safety continued to exercise its extensive executive powers. During the course of the transition from Convention to State government, the separation of the executive from the legislative branch was not preserved, since several members of the Council of Safety were also senators ("Journal of the House of Delegates, Feb. 7, 1777"). This mixture of legislative and executive authority which prevailed between August, 1775 and March, 1777, doubtless facilitated the prosecution of the war. At any rate, the General Assembly in its first session gave the governor and council the powers formerly exercised by the Council of Safety, except the right of banishment (*Laws of Maryland, 1777, Chap. XXIV*). This Act, after enumerating the various functions of the Council of Safety concluded with the words: "*and do everything, in their own discretion, for defending and strengthening the province.*" These extensive powers of the Governor and Council were renewed by the General Assembly during each session until November, 1781. The "Minutes of the House of Delegates" which form the occasion for this note, deal with a critical period in the history of the State as well as of the Nation. The note book is of value in corroborating the "Journal of the House of Delegates" in the early months of the year 1777.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Artist of the Revolution; The Early Life of Charles Willson Peale. By CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS. Hebron, Conn.: Feather and Good. xvi, 293 pp. \$7.50.

In this highly worth while volume we find the first accurate account of the early career of Maryland's most versatile genius; in fact, Charles Willson Peale's very versatility has heretofore interfered with the credit due him in the profession which with him was a vocation, at times, and apparently an avocation at others.

The reviewer is not capable of passing upon matters of comparative merit in art; yet he would note that despite certain long-current misconceptions, critical judges have of late become increasingly aware of Peale's ability, especially in the way of accuracy in likeness and charm of presentation. It has also been realized that earlier detractions, based in part on the fact that Peale did not always "stick to his last," were unfair to the work actually accomplished.

In preserving the likenesses of the founders of the Republic this country owes more to Peale during the critical period of its beginnings than to all other artists combined. Certainly no American artist labored under such handicaps in starting his career and in pursuing it in the midst of war and its aftermath of economic depression. Nevertheless, during these formative years of the Republic, Peale has the distinction of founding the first American national portrait gallery and the first academy of art. Allied with these, he established the first scientifically arranged American museum of natural history. Since these institutions were located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania claims him, as well as Maryland, his native commonwealth.

In terms of the hunt, the biography gets off to a slow start, since it has, for the general reader, overmuch genealogical matter. Thereafter, however, the interest quickens, and the reviewer would merely anticipate the pleasure of the reader by referring to a few of the fresh sidelights thrown upon American life during the last half of the eighteenth century.

If there be any artist of any age who passed through similar interruptions unwillingly to engage in war and politics, he is unknown to the reviewer. In him the individualism of the American was illustrated and intensified, and almost literally Peale went to war with his brush in one hand and a musket—with gadgets of his own invention thereon—in the other. As captain of his Philadelphia Company, his experiences, over and above his between-engagements in portrait painting, are assuredly unique. To illustrate, he secured hides with which he made shoes for his men; he would scout for them, and even provide food and see that it was properly cooked! Although he hated war and shrank from its brutality, he did not shirk his duties or dodge its dangers. Again, he was instrumental in securing the passage of the first anti-slavery legislation; and yet, from necessity, he was himself a slave-owner. He hated rough and tumble politics, yet he was perforce the chosen leader of the "Furious Whig" faction of the Revolutionary party, and he later became a legal agent for the despoliation of the Tories, as he, at no little personal risk, sought to ameliorate the severity of his orders.

Mr. Sellers has given us the biography of an artist; but historians will find

here exemplified nearly every phase of American life before, during, and after the Revolution. The volume is no mere eulogium, but a dispassionate narrative-exposition of unusual interest. Several anecdotes throw light upon matters of general information.

Elsewhere, for instance, it has been recorded that at the outset of the Revolution the British complained of the habit American riflemen had of *firing directly at officers*. According to them, this just wasn't cricket! Nevertheless, it was the American way, gained from Indian fighting where the individual enemy counted and where the werowance or sachem furnished a target of greater importance than that of any of his warriors. Modernizing the orthography, Peale writes to a friend at London (*italics inserted*):

One of their captains who went to relieve guard was shot at by three of our riflemen at 250 yards distance and tumbled from his horse. *This is a practice that General Washington now discountenances.*

The final sentence engagingly illustrates the fact that while Washington had been an Indian fighter, he had also been an officer in the colonial British service, at which time, like a true Britisher, he called England "home" and Virginia "the country."

It is an exceptional biographer who does not make rather frequent slips when, in the course of his production, he deals with matters related to contemporary figures and events. Mr. Sellers is exceptional; however, when he refers to a "serious indiscretion" by Charles Willson Peale or by Thomas Paine, or both, in accusing Silas Deane of dubious transactions, it may be stated that had Peale been acquainted with Professor Abernethy's recent revelations, Peale would have known that Benjamin Franklin was then being duped by Silas Deane, who was far more guilty than either Peale or Paine imagined.

In view of the earlier belittlement of Peale as craftsman, it is interesting to learn that it was he who was asked to paint a new full-length of Washington to be sent to France, after which Houdon modeled his famous statue now in the Capitol at Richmond. More recently, it may be added, George V preferred a Peale portrait in selecting a British memorial of Washington.

In view of the recent "discovery" that James Rumsey invented, and first patented, in 1788 the water-tube boiler, it is interesting to note that at Annapolis Peale went to see Rumsey's steam engine, to view which "the public had been invited by the town crier." Doubtless Peale was doubly intrigued by reason of his friendship with his fellow-inventor, Benjamin Franklin, who helped to send Rumsey abroad.

Because of modern developments, it may be said that the most astonishing of Peale's inventions was the ingenious mechanism he devised to show the first American moving pictures through the use of "transparencies." In addition, he provided sound effects, to say nothing of showing his 'movies' during the summer months in a hall that was more or less 'air-conditioned' through an original arrangement of fans.

It is said that no reviewer considers himself happy, virtuous, or erudite if he does not find some fault with the work under discussion! This critic, therefore, points to possible peccability by asking why recent biographers feel that, when the subject of the biography is innocent of wrong-doing, it is necessary or desirable to look over the list of ancestors or other relatives with a view to finding and exposing some family scandal! Dr. Freeman went to

great lengths to do this in the case of "Light Horse Harry," the father of Robert E. Lee; and Mr. Sellers evidently felt it incumbent upon him to pursue the same policy with respect to Charles Peale, the artist's father, yet the reviewer, long accustomed to weighing historical evidence, would offset the record with the following apparently pertinent observations which may give to the elder Peale the "benefit of the doubt." Although pronounced guilty of peculation in England, he received the extreme sentence that the law allowed, while his political superiors were let off later with light sentences for more serious offenses. These superiors may well have used their influence to make Charles Peale the vicarious victim of schemes that they had concocted, thereby explaining why Peale was released and enabled to start life anew in America.

The format and execution of the volume are excellent; and besides the frontispiece there are twenty-four illustrations, a considerable proportion of them being finely reproduced portraits of Marylanders.

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS.

Writings of General John Forbes Relating to His Service in North America.

Compiled and edited by ALFRED PROCTER JAMES, Ph. D., for the Allegheny County Committee of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America. Menasha, Wisconsin: Collegiate Press, 1938. xv, 316 pp. \$3.50.

This collection of letters throws new and interesting light on the capture of Fort Duquesne, later known as Pittsburgh. Those familiar with the history of the conflict between the English and French for the possession of North America will recall how important the control of the Ohio valley was in determining the result of this struggle. To the French the Ohio valley was an essential link between their colonies in Canada and Louisiana. If, on the other hand, the English could control this valley, it meant that instead of being hemmed in on the west by the French they had room for expansion in that direction. The first two years of the French and Indian War (1754-1760), as the fourth and decisive intercolonial war was known, brought only disaster to the English. It was during this time that the expedition sent to capture Fort Duquesne under command of General Edward Braddock met defeat. When, however, William Pitt became Secretary of State the campaign in America was pushed with renewed energy. Louisburg surrendered in July 1758 and soon afterwards Fort Frontenac. Brigadier General John Forbes directed the second campaign having as its objective the capture of Fort Duquesne.

In one of the letters in this collection Forbes discusses his plan of campaign. In this letter which is written from Philadelphia on June 17th, 1758, and addressed to William Pitt, the general said that as—

My offensive operations are clogged with many difficulties, owing to the great distance and badness of the roads, through an almost impenetrable wood. . . . I am therefore laid under the necessity of having a stockaded camp, with a blockhouse and cover for our provisions, at every forty miles distance. By which means, although I advance but gradually, yet I shall go more surely by lessening the number, and immoderate long train of provisions, wagons, etc., for I can set out with a fortnight's

provisions from my first deposit, in order to make my second, which being finished in a few days, and another fortnight's provision, brought up from the first, to the second, I directly advance to make my third, and so proceed forward, by which I shall have a constant supply security for my provisions, by moving them forward from deposits, to deposit, as I advance. . . .

In this plan lay the secret of Forbes' success. He did not, as General Braddock had done, attempt to advance his whole army at one stretch to Fort Duquesne burdened with a long and cumbersome baggage train. As a result, when he was within striking distance of the fort, he was able to advance upon it without being impeded by wagons and pack horses.

Although wise in his selection of his plan of campaign, General Forbes encountered many difficulties when he attempted to put this plan into execution. The colonial governments did not contribute the funds which he thought necessary to finance the expedition. Forbes complained when the Maryland assembly adjourned without providing anything "for the present service, or for the pay and maintenance of their troops. . . ." In a letter to William Pitt he said that the assembly's action "in refusing all aid, and assistance, for their own protection . . . strikes all honest men with a horrible idea of their ingratitude to the best of Kings."

Forbes' advance was delayed by the difficulty he had in securing wagons and pack horses to carry his ordnance and provisions. He bitterly lamented what he called "the villainy and rascality of the inhabitants, who to a man seem rather bent upon our ruin, and destruction, than give the smallest assistance, which if at last extorted is so infamously charged as shows the disposition of the people in its full glare." Excessive rains also impeded his progress.

For the provincial troops serving under him, General Forbes had little regard. He advised one of his officers in dealing with "such a parcel of scoundrels . . . to drop a little of the gentleman and treat them as they deserve, and pardon no remissness in duty, as few or any serve from any principles but low sordid ones." It is encouraging to note, however, that in a subsequent letter to William Pitt the general commended "the spirit of some of the provincials, particularly the Maryland troops. . . ." As for the provincial officers Forbes stated in one letter that with the exception of their principal officers all the rest were "an extreme bad collection of broken innkeepers, horse jockeys, and Indian traders. . . ."

General Forbes failed in his plan to keep the friendship of the Cherokee Indians, who, he wrote, could not "be kept with us neither by promises nor presents." Most of them deserted and went home. Better success, however, attended his efforts to gain the friendship of the Indians living in the vicinity of Fort Duquesne. By winning their friendship the general deprived the French of the aid and assistance of these savages at a critical time.

During the entire campaign Forbes was a very sick man. Indeed his ill health was the greatest handicap with which he had to contend. He was constantly bothered with what he called "the cursed . . . or damned bloody flux . . . and most excruciating pains in my bowels." He was obliged, he writes, "to travel in a hurdle carried betwixt two horses." Not long after he had succeeded in capturing Fort Duquesne the general died of dysentery.

It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of the capture of Fort Duquesne, as it not only opened the west to the English, but also relieved the western borders of the constant danger of Indian raids. Because of the information about this expedition contained in the *Writings of General John*

Forbes, historians will be grateful to Dr. James for compiling and editing this collection of letters, and to the Allegheny County Committee, of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, under whose auspices the work was done.

RAPHAEL SEMMES.

Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies. By JULIA CHERRY SPRUILL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938. viii, 426 pp. \$5.

In a sinful world nothing is perfect. Certainly the women who lived and worked in the Southern colonies were not. But Julia Cherry Spruill's *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* comes so close to perfection that it is exceedingly hard to say wherein it sins. It is a gorgeous book, and Mrs. Spruill is to be congratulated, not only on a good job, but on the corking good time she had in doing it.

Women's Life and Work is a book for historians. The author says that what started as a study of changing Southern attitudes toward women finished as "the life and status of women in the English colonies of the South." The head of the history department at the Johns Hopkins used to say that he had never seen a dissertation that came out at exactly the point for which, in the beginning, it had started. This book rests almost entirely on original sources, though there is evidence that all the valuable secondary works were read in the course of its preparation. Some of the material, from Virginia and North Carolina, was used in manuscript, but the major part was printed. For Maryland there were used the *Archives*, and the *Laws*, Bacon's and Kilty's and Maxcy's compilations; the *Gazettes*, both Parks's and Green's; the Maryland Historical Society's "Fund Publications" and the *Magazine*. Footnotes verify the author's references; these do more, for they definitely stir up and then satisfy further curiosity. The index is adequate: for an index there can no higher praise be given.

Historical apparatus aside, the book is good reading. Such a subject could have been treated to make a dull book, but here is a juicy one. Even the chapter headings show a nice feeling for lively human values. The first chapter is "Women wanted"; then come "From hut to mansion," "In the increasing way"—which could have been called "In the straw"—"Conjugal felicity and domestic discord," and so on down to the last, "Under the law." Not too much attention is paid to the rich and well-born. Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Laurens daughters from South Carolina, the Brents and the Carroll daughters figure, as they must, but so do the tavern-keepers and the midwives and the serving women. Much that is set forth herein is not only unfamiliar but even surprising. George Washington tells his mother, almost in so many words, that she is not welcome to live at Mount Vernon; and she borrows from her neighbors and tells them—what is not true—that her children refuse to support her.

Much used to be made, a quarter century ago, of the fact, for fact it was, that in Maryland a father, dying, could will away from his wife the guardianship of his children, even of those not yet born when he died. For that, Mrs. Spruill points out that there was an explanation, and not the usual one of a man's cruelty to the mother of his children. Back in colonial days, when a

woman married, whatever she had belonged to her husband. Experience shows that widows often, indeed usually, remarried—as did widowers—and when they did so, everything they had, even the clothes on their backs, belonged to the husband. Katherine Hebden, a “doctress,” married Thomas who was a carpenter. And husband Thomas not only collected Katherine’s earnings, but, dying, left her only a life interest in what had been her own property. If then, a widow’s second husband were so disposed, he could take all the property really belonging to the children of her earlier marriage, and she could do not a thing about it. Any other guardian could sue the wicked step-father and force an accounting; the mother, since she was the villain’s wife, could not.

Marylanders reading this book will find many women and many things they know, and many more that are strange to them. Margaret and Mary Brent, Dinah Nuthead and Mary Katherine Goddard, Molly Tilghman, Ver-linda Stone and the Dulany women appear, as they must in any study like this. Here too is Susanna Starr, who, according to an advertisement, had run away from home four times, so her husband said. Who would know what a tate-maker did, were not the same Annapolitan also a hair-dresser? From the Eastern Shore comes the unfamiliar story of Sarah Vanhart, the eleven-year-old heiress who was married, without her guardian’s consent, to a man much older than she was, and very much her inferior. When the guardian learned of it, he got possession of the child, and the court sustained him and did not force her to be surrendered to her husband. The free school in Queen Anne’s County, one of the earliest in the province, had some scholars for whom it was genuinely free, in the modern American sense. They were Foundation Scholars, and one of them was Lily Ann Heath, daughter of Ann Heath. This must have been a co-educational school, but most of those whose stories have come down to us, were girls’ schools, most distinctly. A school in Annapolis taught reading and writing for thirty shillings a year, but charged forty shillings to teach “all sorts of embroidery, Turkey Work, and all Sorts of rich Stitches learnt in Sampler Work.”

More than is commonly understood, colonial women took part in business and in public affairs. Mary Doughtie Vanderdonck was only one of a good number. She practiced regularly as a physician in Charles County, Maryland, and she was not reluctant to carry her debtor into court. The Archives speak of other Maryland women who were doctors, and most of them seem to have had more trouble in collecting their pay than the men did.

Women’s Life and Work in the Southern Colonies is eminently readable. It can even be dipped into and separate chapters read. The present work stops at the Declaration of Independence: very much it is to be hoped that some day Mrs. Spruill will go on from there to some more recent date. It would be worth doing: fifteen or twenty years after the Declaration, a Maryland gentleman, consoling a friend for the loss of a baby, says that, after all the death of an infant is hardly a real loss.

ELIZABETH MERRITT.

John McDonogh, His Life and Work. By WILLIAM TALBOTT CHILDS.
Baltimore: [Meyer & Thalheimer], 1939. 255 pp. \$2.

John McDonogh is the example of a man who won immortality through his beneficences to public education. In Baltimore, where he was born, a

school for boys that bears his name has become one of the city's distinguished institutions. In New Orleans, where he lived and made his fortune, there are several McDonogh Schools, survivals of a day when the education of the poor had not yet become the responsibility of the state and which owe their existence to the shrewd Scotch merchant's endowments.

As a young man who early acquired great wealth McDonogh, according to his biographer, lived extravagantly and mingled with the most fashionable society. An unhappy love affair transformed him into a recluse, living on a farm with his slaves as his only friends and regarded generally as an eccentric miser. Upon his death in 1850 the community was astonished to learn that he had bequeathed his fortune to education. Mr. Childs' life reveals McDonogh also as an active member of the Colonization Society, whose aim was to return negro slaves to Liberia. McDonogh himself sent a number of his own slaves back, having devised an ingenious system by which they labored extra hours to purchase their freedom. Mr. Childs, a former headmaster of McDonogh School in Baltimore, has collected in his volume much interesting information on a man who should be better known.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE.

Redmond C. Stewart, Fox-Hunter and Gentleman of Maryland. By GORDON GRAND. New York: Scribner's, 1938. xiv, 198 pp. \$5.

This graphic portrayal of a typical Marylander of the Past, Present, and it is hoped, the Future, from the practiced pen of Gordon Grand, gives a picture of a Maryland Gentleman, and Sportsman, at his very best.

Redmond Conyngham Stewart was in every sense of the word all that is implied in the title of this noteworthy book; "one whom to know was to love—to name was to praise."

Of Scotch Irish descent, his forebears settled first in Philadelphia, his great grandfather, David Stewart, becoming one of Maryland's foremost citizens, serving not only in the State Senate, but afterwards in that of the United States.

His father, Charles Morton Stewart, was a prominent merchant, the Stewart fleet of Baltimore Clippers being pioneers in the coffee trade with Brazil. He was also interested in the cause of good government, especially Civil Service Reform, and at the time of his death was President of the Board of Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University. He was a member, as was the son also for some years, of the Maryland Historical Society, as well as a patron of art, and possessed a small but well chosen collection of paintings, bronzes and bric-a-brac, which were shown to advantage in a specially constructed gallery at Cliffeholme, his country place in the Green Spring Valley.

Here Redmond grew up in the midst of a large family of brothers and sisters, and after a boarding school experience in Switzerland, he returned to Baltimore, graduated from the Johns Hopkins University, and afterwards from the University of Maryland Law School.

On his mother's side, he was descended from Gustav W. Lürman, whose beautiful gardens at Farmlands, near Catonsville, were said to have been laid off by Downing, the famous landscape architect, while Mrs. Lürman was the daughter of John Donnell, a prominent Baltimore merchant, whose

ancestry traced back to Leopold, Earl of Mercia, husband of the noted Lady Godiva and founder of the monastery at Coventry, who died in 1027.

Space does not permit an account of Redmond Stewart's exploits with horse and hound, both in this country and abroad, but he was regarded as an authority on the sport of fox-hunting, and as Master of the Green Spring Valley Hunt for twenty-five years, he was instrumental in placing these hounds in the very forefront of American packs.

He served with distinction in the Great War, and was decorated with the Distinguished Service Medal for "exceptionally meritorious acts as Major Judge Advocate, U. S. A." He passed away in February, 1936, and of him truly it could be said "he was a very parfit, gentle, knight, without fear and without reproach."

D. STERETT GITTINGS.

The Lutheran Church of Frederick, Maryland, 1738-1938. By ABDEL ROSS WENTZ. Harrisburg: Evangelical Press, 1938. 375 pp. \$3.

In both accuracy and in readability this account of one of Maryland's old and influential religious institutions is far above the average church history. The narrative, gathered from complete and continuous records for all but the first eight years of the church's existence, is replete with details of a frontier congregation's struggles to establish a church; with the earnest and trying efforts of early missionaries whose paths ranged from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas; with the wiles and the hypocracies of that early American personality often parasitic to all faiths, the "ministerial pretender"; with the final triumph over all difficulties and the consequent growth to one of the most important Lutheran churches in America—ten years older than any Lutheran Synod in the nation.

The average Lutheran churchman will, of course, find interest in the personalities of the long line of ministers and in the development of the church's many organizations and activities. The idea of a Sunday School dates back to 1812, although not formally organized as we know it today until eight years later. Training for the Lutheran ministry by the seminary method received its American initiation in this Frederick church and resulted in the establishment of Gettysburg Theological Seminary in 1826 where, incidentally, Dr. Wentz, the author, is now professor of Church History. The Frederick church, too, aided in launching various church journals printed in English. Its ministers were constant contributors to the *Lutheran Observer*.

The casual student will be well rewarded by frequent sidelights into the life of the times which could not escape reflection in the development of the church. Interesting also is the manner in which the church's history followed the line of the nation's development, best illustrated, perhaps, in the struggle to "democratize" the services, if one may use such a term, and the slow but sure swing to the English language as the medium of expression rather than German. The difficulties of a divided congregation during the trying period of the Civil War are reflected in scattered but pungent paragraphs.

Replete with references to individuals active in the building up of the church, and supplemented by several old church rolls, families with Western

Maryland roots will find this fruitful in yielding interesting details of family history.

It is to be regretted that even by indirect mention, the Barbara Fritchie myth is kept alive, and there are other slight inaccuracies in general historical background. However, in a book of this type, such errors are negligible as its prime purpose is an account of church history. This rôle it fills admirably.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE.

From Mill Wheel to Plowshare. By JULIA ANGELINE DRAKE and JAMES RIDGELY ORNDORFF. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1938. xii, 271 pp. \$3.

In this interesting and instructive volume the reader is given an account of the migrations of certain descendants of one Christian Orndorff who is said to have come from Prussia to America before 1750, settling in or near Philadelphia for a brief period and removing thence to that part of Lancaster County which is now Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. The son of this aged pioneer, also named Christian, likewise became interested in the purchase of mill sites in Pennsylvania, but in 1762 the younger man took up his residence in western Maryland, purchasing a plantation in Frederick County, to which he gave the name of "Mt. Pleasant." He took an active part in the American Revolution, was a member of the Committee of Safety and a captain in the Maryland Line, serving until the close of the war. In 1794 he was appointed a major in an expedition against the Indians on the western frontier. He died at Sharpsburg, Md., in 1797 in the 72nd year of his age, leaving eleven children, all of whom married.

The authors of this book trace the migrations of some of the descendants of Christian Orndorff, from Maryland to Kentucky, Tennessee and the vast prairies of central Illinois. It is a fascinating story of Colonial adventure. Many interesting items relating to the family are found in the appendix of 35 pages. This is followed by an alphabetical list of allied families, a section devoted to notes on the text, and an adequate index of names and places. The book is not a family genealogy in the usual sense of the term. A later volume is promised, which will present the names and dates of all known members of the Orndorff family.

FRANCIS B. CULVER.

Extracts from the correspondence of Christopher Hughes of Baltimore, *chargé d'affaires* in European capitals from 1817 to 1845 and first American "career diplomat," have appeared in several numbers of the *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1934, March 28, 1936, Dec. 10, 1938, and Feb. 18, 1939). Dr. Jesse S. Reeves of the University of Michigan faculty is the author of the articles which have been based on the extensive collection of Hughes papers in his possession. Letters from Lafayette, Coke of Norfolk, George Canning, John Quincy Adams and other notables of the day are included. In the Gallery of the Society hangs a portrait of Hughes by Sir Martin A. Shee, a bequest from the subject who died in 1849.

Side-lights on the Baltimore of 1796 with special emphasis on the theatre may be gleaned the book, *An Unconscious Autobiography: William Osborn Payne's Diary and Letters, 1796 to 1804* edited by Thatcher T. P. Luquer, privately printed 1938 in New York, 103 pages, \$3.50. The older brother of John Howard Payne, who also was identified with Baltimore for a time, William O. Payne entered the employ of the Baltimore merchant, William Taylor, with whom he remained several years.

OTHER RECENT BOOKS OF MARYLAND INTEREST

- History of Maryland Classis of the Reformed Church in the United States.* . . . By Rev. GUY P. BREADY [Tancytown, Md.: Author, 1938]. 320 pp. \$2.
- The Unlocked Book; A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth.* By His Sister, ASIA BOOTH CLARKE. With a Foreword by Eleanor Farjeon. New York: Putnam, 1938. 205 pp. \$2.75.
- Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams.* Edited by W. STULL HOLT. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. 314 pp. \$3.50. (J. H. U. Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series 56, No. 4.)
- Daniel Willard Rides the Line.* By EDWARD HUNGERFORD. New York: Putnam, 1938. 301 pp. \$4.
- Life and Letters of Fielding H. Garrison.* By SOLOMON R. KAGAN, M. D. With an introduction by Professor James J. Walsh. Boston: Medico-Historical Press, 1938. xvi, 287 pp. \$3.
- The Life Story of Rev. Francis Makemie.* By Rev. I. MARSHALL PAGE. Grand Rapids Mich.: Eerdmans, 1938. 258 pp. \$2.50.
- The Story of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting from 1672 to 1938.* Compiled by ANNA BRAITHWAITE THOMAS. Baltimore: Weant Press, 1938. 142, xiii pp.
- A Brief History of a Bank* [By RAYMOND TOMPKINS]. Baltimore: Western National Bank, 1938. 68 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Summer Hours: From June 1 to September 15, inclusive, the buildings of the Society will be open as follows:

Monday to Friday, 9 a. m. to 4 p. m.
 Saturday, 9 a. m. to 1 p. m.

Riggs Genealogy: Inquiries and correspondence with interested persons regarding the forthcoming book, *The Genealogy of the Riggs and Allied Families*, subscription price \$10, are invited by the author,

John Beverley Riggs,
 Brookeville, Md.

Can any one give me the names of the children of John and Elizabeth Enloes? John was taxed, 1699, Baltimore County, Md. His widow, Elizabeth, married John Leakins.

Mrs. Lee I. Dunn,
608 So. St. Andrews St., Los Angeles, Calif.

Wanted: Early history and name of parents of Josiah Lewis, born about 1730, died 1808 in Bladen County, N. C. Married ——— Mullington, daughter of Richard Mullington, about 1750. Family tradition says family lived in eastern Maryland, early.

Kyle W. Hill,
Glenwood, Iowa.

Dowden: Ancestry wanted of Clementius Dowden, born January 11, 1762, in Prince George's County, Md. (Revolutionary War soldier).

Elizabeth T. LeMaster (Mrs. Vernon L.),
309 Whitman St., Rockford, Ill.

Wright: Information wanted of birthplace and early residence of Peter Wright, Nicholite Quaker, born 1791, son of John Wright of Northwest Fork Meeting, from any of the descendants of his brothers and sisters: Willis married Hannah Wilson; Mary married Isaac Wright; John married Mary Mansur. Peter Wright married Mary Anderson and went to Philadelphia in 1817.

Where was the birthplace of Mary Anderson, daughter of James Anderson of Kent County, Delaware?

Ernest N. Wright,
619 Drexel Place, Pasadena, Calif.

Pollock: Can any one give me more information about the "John Pollock, Gentleman," who is mentioned in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series I, vol. 3, page 603, and in *Maryland Archives*, Vol. XLVIII, page 414, and in Vol. XXXI, pages 323, 332, 333? In depositions given in 1759 in Worcester County, Md., he is mentioned as "aged 50 years or thereabouts"; he "had lived at the plantation he now lives at upwards of 30 years and held his rights under Lord Baltimore." Other depositions were given at the same time and place by Charles and Ephraim Polke. Who were the children of this John Pollock and what was his wife's name?

Was the John Pollock who kept a store on "Little Creek Hundred" in Delaware and the John Pollock who kept a store in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1806, a son of the above John Pollock? The Pollock of Lewisburg married an Isabella Rollin (or Rowland) in Chester County, Pa. He was also related to the James Polk of White Deer. Their families were

"cousins." James of White Deer was descended from John Pollock, born in 1688 in Ireland. Did James have a brother William?

Rowland: Who was the William Rowland mentioned in Maryland Archives, Vol. XLVIII, p. 414, May 16, 1783: "To William Rowland for 110 pounds 1 s., 2p. and to John Pollock for 28 pounds, 19 s., 10p. due them on Continental Loan Office Certificates adjusted by the auditor—."

Did the above William have a daughter, Isabella, or son John? Who was the John Rowland who was a circuit rider minister and such an eloquent preacher that his enemies called him "Hell Fire Rowland."?

Mrs. F. A. DeBoos,
715 Monroe Blvd., Dearborn, Mich.

John Dennis, born 1770; died in Baltimore, 1818; married in 1796 in Cecil County, Md., Ann Thomas, born 1775. Both were buried in Old St. Paul's Burial Ground, Baltimore.

Thomas Leech, died in Baltimore, 1821; married in Cecil County, Md., 1805, Ruth Thomas, born 1783. About 1810 Thomas Leech lived at Columbia, Lancaster County, Pa.

Information desired as to parentage of John Dennis and Thomas Leech and their wives: Ann Thomas and Ruth Thomas, who were sisters. Ann and Ruth Thomas had brothers Isaac, Jacob, and Abram, and sisters Naomi, married John Slater; Opha, married Basil Murphy; Mary married ———— Holden.

Mrs. Clara Morrison,
2808 39th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Who was the father of John Gist (wife Mary ————)? His will was made May 7, 1778, and filed in Loudoun Co., Va. Names of children: Thomas, John, William, Nathaniel, Sarah, Henson Lewis, Constant, Elizabeth Nancy (Keen), Mary (Keen), Violet (Lewis). Family tradition claims John Gist as son of Captain Christopher Gist, the explorer.

Mrs. M. G. Neale,
723 Fulton St., S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.

Wanted: The ancestry of David Evans, of Greenwich, Cumberland County, N. J. Believed to be of Welsh descent. He married Mary Sheppard, the sister of Moses Sheppard (founder of the Sheppard Asylum), in New Jersey in 1775. He died at Radnor, Pa., in 1817. Their son, Isaac Evans, married Caroline C. Onion in Baltimore on June 14, 1809. Isaac Evans may have been a Quaker, as was his mother. Will any one with information concerning this family kindly communicate with Maurice F. Rodgers, 505 Orkney Road, Baltimore, Md.?

Meeks-Shawhan: Sarah Meeks, died 1736, Kent County Md., married March 11, 1707, St. Paul's Parish, Kent County, Darby Shawhan, 1673-1736. Had: Daniel, 1709; John, 1711; Dennis, 1713; Sarah, 1715, married Edward Dyer; Elizabeth, 1722; Darby, 1724; David, 1726; William, 1728. *Wanted:* parentage of Sarah Meeks and Darby Shawhan, Sr. I have compiled a rather complete record of descendants and will gladly exchange data.

Mounts: Lieut. Col. Providence Mounts, died 1784, Fayette County, Pa., wife Rachel, died 1805. Constable in 1760 of Old Town Hundred, Frederick County, Md.; in Colonial service in 1757 under Capt. Joseph Chapline, Fort Cumberland. To Pennsylvania in 1765, to that part now Connellsville, Fayette County. Lieut. Col. 2nd Battalion, Col. John Carnahan, 1776. Closely associated with Col. John Crawford in various Indian campaigns. His children: Abner married Mary; Thomas, 1764-1832, wife Nancy Crawford, went to Indiana; Asa married Josinah; Joshua, wife Elcy; Jesse; Providence, died 1813, Ohio County, W. Va., married Hannah Van Metere; Caleb, born 1766, married Christinia, went to Indiana; Josina married Capt. Jacob White, went to Hamilton County, Ohio; Ann married Anderson; Joseph, died 1782, Westmoreland County, Pa. Parentage of Providence Mounts, Sr., and wife Rachel, wanted. Tradition in family is that he or his wife was related to Lafayette. He had brothers Joseph, died 1797, Allegany County, Md., wife Elenor; brother William, wife Elizabeth of Westmoreland County, Pa.; sister Grizzel. I have a fairly complete record of descendants. Will gladly exchange data.

Shawhan: Daniel, born 1709, son of Darby of Kent County, Md., married Jennett. They removed to Frederick County, Md., about 1750, later to Hampshire County, Va., where in 1775 he sold his livestock to his son Darby, 1748-1824, the Warren County, Ohio, pioneer. His other son, Daniel, Jr., born 1738, was the Kentucky pioneer of Bourbon County, Ky. *Wanted:* parentage of Jennett who married Daniel Shawhan, Sr.

William G. Hills,
6 Shepherd St., Chevy Chase, Md.

Stricker: The following information is gathered from a MS on George Stricker, by the late Miss Amy Hull, genealogist:

"Catherine or Catherina Springer, see records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Frederick Co., Md., in which it is written that Catherina and George Stricker are godparents to a certain child in 1767.

"According to family records, Mary Stricker, daughter of Colonel George, married Ninian Beall, March 7, 1780. In Scharf's *History of Western Maryland*, p. 427, is the following marriage notice: Ninian Beall and Anna Maria Stricker, March 7, 1780."

Helen Harris.

Solomon Rutter, b. Oct. 16, 1761, d. Feb. 28, 1821, m. 1788 (at Zion Church, Baltimore) Margaretta Reidenaur who was b. June 27, 1769 and d. ———. Solomon Rutter was the son of Thomas Rutter and Sarah, his second wife. Was she Sarah Spicer and, if so, who were her parents? Who were the parents of Margaretta Reidenaur?

Wanted. Any information about the following Willetts of Maryland. (1) Edward, will. 1743, m. Tabitha ———. Who was Tabitha? (2) Edward Jr., will 1772, m. 2nd Grace Litton. Who was his first wife? (3) Ninian d. 1809, m. Ann Fleming.

Who was John Fleming, of Prince George's & Montgomery County, Md., b. 1714, d. 1796?

Who was Robert White, d. 1768 in Prince Georges Co., m. at All Hallows Church, Sept. 22, 1709, Ann, daughter of Edward Burgess?

(Miss) Jessie H. Meyer
Ruxton, Md.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The regular meeting of the Society which was to have been held on March 13, 1939, was cancelled on account of alterations which were being made in the Library and Gallery.

April 10, 1939. The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with President Radcliffe in the chair. The following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mrs. Benjamin H. Brewster, Jr.
Miss Grace Birmingham.
Mr. Peter P. Blanchard.
Mr. Leslie P. Dryden.
Mr. Edmond S. Donoho.
Mr. Joseph Townsend England.
Mr. James W. Flack, Jr.
Miss Louisa McE. Fowler.
Mr. Eugene Frederick.
Mrs. James McClure Gillet.
Mr. Poultney Gorter.
Mr. Arthur D. Gans.
Mr. Arthur Hall, Jr.

Mrs. S. Henry Hamilton.
Mrs. M. John Lynch.
Mr. Park W. T. Loy.
Mrs. Jameson Parker.
Mr. Elmer F. Ruark.
Mr. Blanchard Randall, Jr.
Mrs. Frank Dyer Sanger.
Mr. Gideon N. Stieff.
Mr. John W. Sherwood.
Mrs. Mark Sullivan.
Mr. R. Marsden Smith.
Mr. William H. Wootton.

Associate

Mr. William A. Bullock.

Mr. Arthur Pierce Middleton.

It was stated that Captain Anthony Eden, of London, England, accepted with great appreciation Honorary Membership in the Society.

The deaths of the following members were reported:

Mrs. Charles W. Stetson, January —, 1939.

Mr. Richard Henry Thomas, February 4, 1939.

Mr. J. A. Dushane Penniman, March 5, 1939.

Miss Ida M. Eaton, April 4, 1939.

Mr. C. Ross McKenrick read a paper entitled "New Munster and the Part Played by Ulster Scots in the Penn-Calvert Conflict." A vote of thanks was extended to Mr. McKenrick for his interesting paper.

May 8, 1939. At the regular meeting of the Society, President Radcliffe presiding, the following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Donald H. Sherwood.

Mr. William H. Peirce.

Mrs. John L. Whitehurst.

Mrs. William H. Peirce.

Mr. Richard Goldsborough.

Mr. Ira D. Watkins.

Mr. Thomas Carroll Roberts.

Associate

Mr. Thomas E. Waggaman.

Mr. H. Minot Pitman.

Mr. Daniel MacIntyre Henderson.

The deaths of the following members was recorded:

Mr. Alexander H. Bell, February 21, 1939.

Mr. Philemon Kennard Wright, April 25, 1939.

Mr. B. H. Hartogensis read a paper entitled, "The Jews in Early Maryland History." The unanimous thanks of the Society were extended to the speaker.